The Discoursal Use of Phraseological Units
The Discoursal Use of Phraseological Units

Edited by

Elena Arsenteva

Cambridge Scholars Publishing
# Table of Contents

Preface ......................................................................................................................... viii

**Core and Instantial Use of Phraseological Units**

Chapter One ............................................................................................................... 2
Literal and Metaphorical Motion in Context: The Case of Spanish and Arabic Phrasal Verbs
Antonio Pamies, Yara El-Ghalayini

Chapter Two .............................................................................................................. 30
Frequency of the Phraseological Units in Discourse as a Part of the Phraseographic Practice
Dmitry Yurchenko

Chapter Three .......................................................................................................... 45
Usage and Occasional Transformations of Phraseological Units Designating a Woman in Russian
Rakhim Muryasov, Olga Kasymova

Chapter Four ............................................................................................................. 61
“A Miss is as Good as a Male”. From Innovative Anti-proverbs to Modern Proverbs
Wolfgang Mieder

**Phraseological Units in Different Genres**

Chapter Five ............................................................................................................. 92
Phraseological Units in Online Comments to *The Guardian* and *The Sun*
Albina Kayumova, Natalia Konopleva, Gulshat Safiullina

Chapter Six ................................................................................................................. 103
Phraseological Units with the Author’s Transformations in the Works by D.H. Lawrence
Elena Arsenteva, Nailya Gololobova
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>The Use of the Phraseological Units with the Semantics of Extreme in Russian Discourse</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elena Ivanyan, Alena Klyushina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>Tatar Cultural Phraseological and Lexical Units in the Novels by Gayaz Ishaki “Zuleykh” and Amirkhan Eniki “Uutild Will”, and their Discoursal Behaviour</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regina Plankina, Fanuza Tarasova, Gulshat Safuillina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>Transformations of Phraseological Units in Political Discourse</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liliia Mrgalimova, Gulnara Gimaletdinova, Lilii Khaltova</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>Metaphorical Language in Journalistic Texts: An Analysis of its Potentiality</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maria Luisa Ortiz Alvarez</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>Phraseological Units in Texts of English Fairy Tales and Difficulties of their Comprehension by Young Children</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roza Ayupova, Elza Garipova</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>Peculiarities of the Phraseological Unit “Bear Corner” in Different Russian Discourses</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.D. Parshina, I.V. Gurova</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>Instantial Use of Metaphorical Phraseological Units</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nina Soboleva, Gelinia Gilazetdinova, Aida Sadykova</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteen</td>
<td>Phraseology in the Headlines of News Websites’ Reports on the Coronavirus in Slovakia</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ol’ga Csalová, Pavol Burel, Zuzana Kozárova, Elena Zelenická</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Fifteen ................................................................. 264
The Latest Phraseology in Internet Discourse
Rausa Khayrullina, Flyuza Fatkullina

Chapter Sixteen ............................................................ 284
Pragmatical Aspect of Discoursal Use of Phraseological Transformations in Classical works of English and Russian Authors
Rimma Salieva, Fanuza Tarasova, Rimma Safina

Experimental Study of Discoursal Use of Phraseological Units

Chapter Seventeen ......................................................... 304
Occasional Transformations of Phraseological Units Designating Age in English, and Ways of their Translation into Russian: Experimental Study
Elena Arsenteva, Yetzaneth Del Valle Diaz, Inkander Yarmakeev

Chapter Eighteen ........................................................ 322
Experimental Study of Phraseological Units with a Name of a Person by Profession as a Component in the English and Russian Languages: Component/components Substitution, Component/components Deletion, and Phraseological Saturation of Context
Leysan Galyavieva, Elena Varlamova, Liliia Sirazova

Chapter Nineteen ......................................................... 340
Bookish Phraseological Units in Russian and English: Experimental Study of their Recognition and Translation
Igor Guryanov, Yulia Arsentyeva, Radif Zamaletdinov
THOUGH MUCH HAS BEEN ALREADY DONE IN THE FIELD OF PHRASEOLOGY DURING THE PREVIOUS DECADES SOME ASPECTS OF “LIFE” OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS (PUS) STILL WAIT FOR A MORE DETAILED INVESTIGATION AND DESCRIPTION BY MODERN SCHOLARS. ONE OF SUCH IMPORTANT ASPECTS IS THE STUDY OF DISCOURSAL BEHAVIOR OF THESE PICTURESQUE AND TRANSFERRED LANGUAGE UNITS IN ORDER TO SEE THEIR CONTEXTUAL POTENTIAL AND THE WAYS OF CREATIVE USE OF THEM IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF DISCOURSE.

THE MAIN AIM OF THE BOOK IS TO EXPLORE SPEECH BEHAVIOR OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS, THAT’S WHY IT PRESENTS RESEARCH OF CORE AND INSTANTIAL USE OF THEM FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES AND IN DIFFERENT GENRES. A VARIETY OF TRANSFORMATION TYPES OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS ARE UNDER STUDY AS WELL AS EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO THE INVESTIGATION OF SUCH UNITS WITH TRANSFERRED MEANING. THE BOOK ALSO PRESENTS WORKS OF SCHOLARS FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

ALL PRESENTATIONS IN THE BOOK MAY BE ROUGHLY DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS.

THE FIRST PART DEALS WITH CORE AND INSTANTIAL USE OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS.

SPANISH AND ARABIC PHRASAL VERBS AS A PART OF PHRASEOLOGICAL STOCKS OF BOTH LANGUAGES ARE STUDIED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF LITERAL AND METAPHORICAL MOTION IN CONTEXT BY ANTONIO PAMIES AND YARA EL-GHALAYINI. THE RESEARCHERS HAVE PROVED THAT THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN SPANISH AND ARABIC MOTION METAPHORS IS UNEXPECTEDLY HIGH IN PHRASAL VERBS, AND IN SOME CASES STRIKING COINCIDENCES IN INNER FORM, ACTUAL MEANING AND CONTEXTUAL RESTRICTIONS ARE OBSERVED.

FREQUENCY OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN DISCOURSE AS A PART OF THE PHRASEOGRAPHIC PRACTICE IS THE SUBJECT MATTER IN THE CHAPTER PRESENTED BY DMITRY YURCHENKO. AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION IS THE CONCLUSION THAT THE MOST FREQUENT PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS FORM THE CORE OF THE PHRASEOLOGICAL PARADIGM WHICH IS USUALLY REFLECTED IN PHRASEOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES AND GET A COMPLEX DESCRIPTION IN A WIDE RANGE OF PHRASEOLOGICAL STUDIES. TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THIS STATEMENT THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS “DAS RUSSIISCHE PHRASEOLOGISCHE WÖRTERBUCH” (2019) AS A NEW PRODUCT THAT LEXICOGRAPHICALLY COMBINES PHRASEOLOGY WITH PAREMIOLOGY, COVERS AND FIXES A WIDE RANGE OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PHENOMENA. THAT’S WHY THIS
Usage and occasional transformations of phraseological units designating a woman in Russian have been in the focus of attention of Rakhim Muryasov and Olga Kasymova. The examples of usage of Russian phraseological units were taken from the Russian National Corpus, and the authors have proved that most of the phraseological units under study had a peak in use in the nineteenth century. The following semantic transformations of such units were found: the ability to acquire attributive meaning and, as a result, to be used in relation to men; a more enhanced meaning of the object’s feature, which makes it possible for phraseological units designating a woman to serve as a means of designating a group of people; desemantization as a result of which a phraseological unit loses its image and idiomaticity and becomes a free phrase.

The investigations of Wolfgang Mieder from the USA are widely known by the majority of specialists in phraseology. His contribution to paremiology is really great, and the paper in the book deals with innovative anti-proverbs which serve as a basis of modern proverbs. The researcher uses a lot of reliable data to prove the fact that the future will have plenty new proverbs in store that will reflect modern times and changed worldviews as nowadays there are a lot of such new proverbs which started as anti-proverbs and are based on old patterns. This process is very good evidence that proverbs “will be constant companions in human communication throughout the world”.

The second, largest part of the book is devoted to the investigation of the use of phraseological units in different genres. The problem of usage of stable expressions with transferred meaning in the works of outstanding writers as well as in different types of texts attracts the attention of linguists as it helps to understand the innovative way such expressions may enrich different genres. Besides, the analysis of different types of their transformations (modifications) is of great value.

This part starts with the study of phraseological units in online comments to The Guardian and The Sun. The analysis has proved that in these electronic newspapers phraseological units allow authors to express their thoughts succinctly and emotionally. Besides, it was found out that the most common types of transformations are addition of a component/components, replacement of a component/components, and insertion. Ellipses and phraseological reiteration are slightly less frequent. All such transformations with the exception of reiteration are sure to involve changes exclusively in the structure of phraseological units. The authors of the chapter have also proved that the genre peculiarity of the
Internet commentary determines the special use of phraseological units by the authors of comments.

Different types of transformations of phraseological units in the works by D.H. Lawrence are in the focus of attention of Kazan scholars Elena Arsenteva and Nailya Gololobova. The conclusion that 18% of all the phraseological units found in selected works by D.H. Lawrence are transformed by the author is of great interest. The following types of the author transformations were analyzed in the paper: substitution of lexical component or components, insertion of lexical component(s), addition of lexical component(s), ellipsis, phraseological reiteration, extended phraseological metaphor, phraseological saturation, phraseological pun, phraseological contamination.

Elena Ivanyan and Alena Klyushina devoted their paper to the results of investigation of phraseological units with the semantics of extreme in Russian discourse. 348 examples from three areas of Russian discourse were analyzed scientific, literature and printed media discourse. The following results are of major importance: phraseological units with the verbal markers of the Russian linguistic view of the world is common to all three Russian discourse areas; two features of Russian linguoculture – “concentration on extremes” and the description of the state of affairs as a set of events that cannot be controlled or understood – are presented in the printed media; high-frequency periods of phraseological unit frequency coincided with two peak periods of the collective image of the past: the 1860s – the period of reforms and transformations in Russia, and the last decade of the 20th century.

An insight into Tatar cultural phraseological and lexical units in the novels by prominent Tatar writers Gayaz Ishaki and Amirkhan Enikey is presented in the work of Kazan scholars. Discoursal behavior of culturally marked idioms, types of context and means of translation are the subject of the research. The results of the investigation show that, firstly, phraseological units are either used without any transformations, or suffixes are added to the components of them in Tatar; secondly, culturally marked lexemes should be translated by using the mono lexeme equivalent, in mandatory combination with a detailed cultural and historical reference.

Transformations of phraseological units in political discourse is the focus of attention of Liliia Mirgalimova, Gulnara Gimaletdinova and Liliia Khalitova. The conclusion made is that political blogs both in English and Russian revealed transformations of phraseological units at lexical, grammatical, and structural levels. Transformations at the level of lexical stability include component substitution, attributive (adverbial) extension, deletion of the component(s), and contamination. Violation of morphological
stability in the form of adding prefixes was revealed at the grammatical level. Violation of structural stability in political blogs includes inversion, passivization, and contamination.

The chapter of Brazilian scholar Maria Luisa Ortiz Alvarez is devoted to the study of language units with transferred meaning in journalistic texts. The results of the investigation vividly show us that journalism has much to offer readers in terms of contact with everyday experience and the exercise of textualizing reality, using metaphors and other figures of expressive language with the function of illustrating, describing and producing concepts.

Phraseological units in English fairy tales and the problems of their comprehension by young children are analyzed in the paper by Roza Ayupova and Elza Garipova. Three levels of comprehension difficulty were found out during the research. On the whole, it is stated that contextual use of phraseological units is not popular in texts of English fairy tales, and only rather simple types of transformations such as component(s) substitution, and deletion may be found in them.

Peculiarities of the phraseological unit “bear corner” in different Russian discourses are under investigation in the chapter of Olga Parshina and Irina Gurova. The authors come to the conclusion that this phraseological unit may be considered as a language sign of the Russian culture as it represents the semantic field of a province, which expresses a wide range of historically evolved national cultural connotations. The paper presents the description and results of the experiment based on the materials of the National Corpus of the Russian Language in which the unit “bear corner” functions in fiction and journalistic discourses in the period between 1857 and 2018.

Instantial use of metaphorical phraseological units is the object of investigation of Nina Soboleva, Gelynia Gilazetdinova and Aida Sadykova. The paper focuses on the study of metaphorical PUs and their creative (instantial) use in film advertising discourse, aiming to combine both traditional and cognitive views on studying these stable word-combinations. The authors come to the following conclusions: the creative use of phraseological units with modifications in taglines serves as an effective way to attract potential recipients, since a short advertising text harboring instantial phraseological units is rich in imagery, expressiveness, originality; it can be characterized by a high degree of readability and easily memorized by the addressee.

The chapter of Slovak researchers Ol’ga Csálová, Pavol Burcl, Zuzana Kožárová and Elena Zelenická is dedicated to the study of phraseological units in headlines of news websites’ reports on coronavirus in Slovakia.
The authors have focused on the latest researched material in selected tabloid and non-tabloid news report headlines. The results of the study prove the fact that phraseological units and phraseological constructions of folk provenance represent a material that serves both the imagery and the emotional charge of journalistic report headlines.

The Internet discourse is another “genre” analyzed in the paper of Rausa Khayrullina and Flyuza Fatkullina. It is stated that there is a tendency of constantly forming new phraseological units in the Internet discourse as they reflect modern socio-cultural trends in the development of the society and penetrate into the national language much faster than in the XXth century due to a great number of the Internet users. Besides, many typical phraseological units acquire new features due to their transformations and language play.

Pragmatic aspect of discoursal use of phraseological transformations in classical works of English and Russian authors is analyzed in the paper dealing with five types of occasional transformations of phraseological units in both languages: wedging, substitution, inversion, phraseological reiteration and extended metaphor. The conclusion is made that transformed phraseological units render certain information, enhance evaluative, emotional and expressive facets of denotative meaning of phraseological units in the works of English and Russian authors.

The last, third part of the book contains works devoted to the experimental study of discoursal use of phraseological units. In this respect Kazan scholars continue the experimental research of phraseological unit potential in terms of the implementation of possible transformations started by the American researcher R.G. Gibbs and his colleagues at the University of California.

The first paper of Elena Arsenteva, Yetzaneth Del Valle Diaz and Inkander Yarmakeev is devoted to the experimental study of two most difficult types of phraseological unit transformations: extended metaphor, and phraseological saturation of context. The purpose of the linguistic experiment was to identify the possibility of using the correct transformation mechanism of English phraseological units denoting a person's age, and their adequate translation into Russian by non-native English speakers. The experiment proved to be successful.

An insight into the experimental use of phraseological units with a name of a person by profession as a component in the English and Russian languages is presented in the work of Leysan Galyavieva, Elena Varlamova and Liliiia Sirazova. Three types of PU transformations, namely component(s) substitution, component(s) deletion, and phraseological saturation of context are under analysis. The conducted linguistic experiment
confirmed the effectiveness of component(s) substitution and deletion in search of the key component(s).

The last paper of Igor Guryanov, Yulia Arsentyeva and Radif Zamaletdinov is devoted to the description of the experimental study of recognition and translation of bookish phraseological units in English and Russian. The experiments convincingly prove the fact that identification and translation of phraseological units require more time. Besides, the majority of the experiment participants resort to translation of non-equivalent phraseological units into another language by using descriptive translation, lexical translation and combined translation.

As is shown the book presents the analysis of different problems connected with the discoursal use of phraseological units of different languages, and we hope that it will help those working in this field of phraseology.
CORE AND INSTANTIAL USE
OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS
CHAPTER ONE

LITERAL AND METAPHORICAL MOTION IN CONTEXT: THE CASE OF SPANISH AND ARABIC PHRASAL VERBS

ANTONIO PAMIES¹, YARA EL GHALAYINI²

1. Motion, displacement and satellites

The English term *motion* may be quite ambiguous if compared to *displacement*, a concept which identifies better the class of verbs entailing a final change of location of their agent with respect to the beginning of the event. Thus, *dance, run, swim, walk*, or even *move*, do not belong to this class, since such movements may end in the same place where they had begun, whereas *go, come, climb, enter or cross* belong to a more specific category, which internally encodes a process that ends somewhere else (cf. Tesnière 1959, 307-308). Although Stolova defines the “motion verbs” as

“those verbs that express self-propelled motion of the subject which involves a change of place: translocation” (Stolova 2015, 4),

this description corresponds in fact to *displacement verbs*. This lexical-semantic distinction often has direct grammatical consequences, such as, for example, the change of auxiliary in the compound tenses in French, Italian, German or Dutch, where the intransitive verbs of displacement require the auxiliary “to be” instead of “to have”³.

¹ University of Granada, Spain. Apamies@gmail.com.
² Mediterranean Institute of Technology, South Mediterranean University, Tunisia. Yara_ghalayini@hotmail.com.
³ In these languages “be born”, “die” and “become” also need the auxiliary “be”, since these events are culturally associated to a displacement to a new place: *f’i*l
For the displacement to succeed, there must be a form of self-propulsion and a direction, which not all languages code “inside” the verb. The well-known typology of Talmy (Talmy 1985, Talmy 2000, 49) distinguishes between satellite-framed languages, and verb-framed languages depending on how they lexicalize the direction (path). In one type, this direction is absent: the verb only denotes the form of propulsion (manner), whereas the orientation is indicated in an external element (prepositional or adverbial) called satellite, as in Germanic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric and Chinese languages. In the other type, the verb contains an inherent path but no information about the manner, as in Romance and Semitic languages, among others (Talmy 2000, 221, 240-247, Alshehri 2014).

Arabic would totally coincide with Spanish at this point, since both languages use abstract directional verbs: FROM THE INSIDE OUTWARDS (خرج *exited), FROM BELOW UPWARDS (اعتق /صعد *climbed) FROM THE OUTSIDE INWARDS (دخل *entered) etc., leaving the manner for another (optional) subordinate verb (p.ej. ركضًا *running), whereas Germanic languages specify a concrete manner (walk, run; ride, drive; fly; swim) leaving the path to a locative complement (in /out /up /down) (cf. Wienold and Schwarze 2002; Cifuentes Férez 2008, Maalej 2011).

---

es né, il est mort, it. è nato, è morto, al. er ist geboren; er ist tot; nl. hij ist geboren; hij ist dood.

4 For Talmy et al. (Talmy 2000, 222), there are various types of satellites depending on the language: particles of the English phrasal verbs or the German separable verbs, but also the prefixes of the Latin and Slavic verbs, or lexical components of the Chinese compound verb, etc.
However, there are other possibilities that violate this distribution. In both Spanish and Arabic, the mark of the manner is not necessarily a second verb. E.g., eng. *he ran up the stairs*, could also be translated with an almost identical system than its English counterpart: sp. *corrió escaleras arriba* / ar. *الة الدَّرَجَة الطَّافِق* rakaDa ad-daraj lafwq (*he ran the stairs upwards*) (Louhichi 2015). In real translations, the two opposed schemes do not necessarily match with the typological prediction, since both models may be available for the same sentence in a given language.

(1a) sp. salió de la habitación arrastrándose
*he exited from the room crawling
ar. جَاء بِحْيَ نَفْسِهُ kharaja jarran min alghurfatih (*exited crawling from the room)

(1b) sp. se arrastró fuera de la habitación
*he crawled out of the room
ar. وَافْتَلَت الأَبْوَاب zahafa kharij alghurfatih (*he crawled out of the room).

(2a) sp. el agua entró filtrándose (y estropeó la pintura) /
*the water entered filtering+itself [and it spoiled the painting] dr. دَاخَلَ الْآبْدَارَة َمِثْلًا mutasarban (wa tlaṭa ad-dihan).
*entered water filtering [and it spoiled the painting]

(2b) sp. el agua se filtró hacia dentro (y estropeó la pintura) /
*the water itself filtered towards inside [and it spoiled the painting]
ar. وَتَسَارَبَ الْآبْدَارَةِ الْأَمْؤُودَة tasarraba alma dha ad-dakhil (wa alaf ad-dihan).
*filtered the water towards inside [and it spoiled the painting].
2. Phrasal verbs

The English phrasal verbs (Bolinger 1971) have their correlation in Romance languages, where they are called nowadays syntagmatic verbs (Simone 1996)\(^5\), and also in Arabic, where they are called prepositional verbs (e.g. Al-Naser 2010, 43-49).

This construction is also an association between a verb and a postponed locative particle (adverbial or prepositional), just as in the satellite pairings, but distinguished from the latter by two essential facts: it is functionally equivalent to a single indivisible unit in the sentence, and semantically, its global meaning is not “calculated” from that of its components (Bolinger 1971).

On the one hand, the phrasal verb has a unitary, indivisible and lexicalized metaphorical meaning (e.g. blow out), on the other hand, the components of the satellite verbs preserve their original meaning, therefore their global sense is compositional (*run down* [the stairs] = “run”“+”“down”), they may even allow the order inversion between verb and particle: *down went the soldiers; back hopped the frog* (Jackendoff 2002: 75), whereas a phrasal verb cannot (*blow out* but *out blow*).

- *get by* “to succeed with the least possible effort or accomplishment”;
- *drop off* “to fall asleep”;
- *fall out* “to cut off relations over a quarrel”; 
- *take up* “to respond favorably to” etc.

Grammatically, the phrasal verb differs from the combination (V+Prep) because, in the latter, the locative particle heads a prepositional phrase, whereas, in the phrasal verb, the particle is merged into a single unit:

---

Some obvious examples of Spanish and Arabic phrasal verbs would be:

- **sp. echarse atrás** *throw+self backwards “not to comply a deal or promess”*
venirse abajo *come+*self downwards “collapse”
ciaer mal *fall badly “be unpleasant / unfriendly”
meterse con put+*self with “tease” [someone]
pasar de *pass from “ignore / despise” [someone / something]
salir adelante *exit forwards “survive”
hacerse a *make+*self at “get used to”
pasarlo bien *pass well “enjoy” / “have a great time”
echar abajo *throw downwards “destroy”
sentar bien *sit well “make feel good”; etc.

Even in English, satellite verbs and phrasal verbs are different categories, despite their surface formal identity, such as run down(I) and run down(II), since the former is syntactic while the latter is phraseological.

Fig.4. Homonymy between a satellite verb and a phrasal verb

However, the Spanish and Arabic equivalents of these sentences do not need two verbs:
a) In the first one Spanish and Arabic use a satellite verb exactly as English:

sp. los niños corrian colina abajo (*the boy *ran hill down).

ar. ركض الأوللأة الثلة إلى الأفثل rakaDa al-aswal at-talah ila al-asfal (*ran the-boys the-hill for the-down).
b) In the second one, Spanish and Arabic use a lexicalized “single verb”, which merges the motion and the manner:

sp. El coche atropelló a un motociclista. (*the car **crushed** a biker);

امضت السيارة بسائق الدراجة النارية istadamat as-sayara bisa-iq ad-darajah al-naryah (*crushed* the-car with driver the-motorbike).

The fact that some languages (among them Spanish and Arabic) have phrasal verbs, even though they hardly have any satellite verb, confirms the opposition between both categories. Even so, the border between satellite verbs and phrasal verbs is not always evident, as, for example, when, by metonymy, motion is causative and, therefore, does not really entail a displacement of the subject. In eng. *the boy blew out the candle*, there is a manner verb (*blow*) followed by a satellite expressing a path (*out*), but *blow* is not a displacement verb. If we look at the translations into verb-framed languages, there are two verbs as predicted by the rule (sp. *el niño apagó la vela soplando* /ar. نفخاً نطفأ الولد الشمعة نفخاً *the boy extinguished the candle blowing*). However, “extinguish” is not a motion verb and does not entail any path, whereas the second verb (“blowing”) expresses both manner and path. Therefore, it seems that the metonymic use is quite less prototypical.

3. Metaphoric motion

Phraseology also abounds in images where motion is just a source domain to conceptualize other kinds of action (cf. Pascual Aransáez 1999, 132). Conversely, “real” motion may be represented as another type of event. English satellite verbs are often translated figuratively by idioms in Spanish and Arabic from. E.g., eng. *fly away* translated as sp. *emprender el vuelo* (*undertake the flight*), *alzar el vuelo* (*raise the flight*) or ar. انطَلقت الرحلة *undertake the-flight*). It seems therefore that satellite verbs have been studied in a "syntactico-centric" approach, without paying enough attention to the specificity of figurative motion (cf. Özçalşkan 2003: 189).

If they are metaphoric images, the expressions of displacement become more unpredictable in every language, as in the idioms which map the cognitive domain CHANGE OF PLACE into the domain CHANGE OF STATE, in order to conceptualize SENSATIONS or FEELINGS (cf. Stolova 2015). Thus, for example, in English, French, (Brazilian) Portuguese and Arabic, LOVE is conceptualized as a VERTICAL DISPLACEMENT DOWNWARDS (eng. *to fall*
in love; fr. tomber amoureux; pt. estar caído por ela; ar. وقع في الحب (waqa‘a fy alhub).

By contrast, in Spanish, Romanian or Russian, the equivalents of falling in love are represented as a DISPLACEMENT INWARDS (sp. enamorarse, rmn. se întrăgostiescă, rs. влюбиться), whereas, in other Slavic languages, it is represented as a DISPLACEMENT BEYOND A LIMIT (sb. se zaljubiti; cr. se zaljubiti; cz. se zamilotváť (Pamies 2018,2019b). Manner and direction remain essential, but they are no longer distributed according to Talmy’s typology. We may observe something similar in the expression of FEAR, DREAM or DRUNKENNESS, where the distribution of the metaphorical models among these languages does not coincide with that of LOVE: (Pamies and Iñesta 2000; Iñesta and Pamies 2002; Pamies 2018).

This phenomenon is not limited to phraseology. The most basic verbs, such as ir (‘go’) venir (‘come’), stand out for their huge and varied polysemic productivity, either as isolated words or as generators of idioms and pragmatemes.

(a) as a simple word:

ojalá vengan tiempos mejores *God+wish come times better “I wish that better times will come”.
nshalah al-ayam aljayeh ahsan *God+wish days that will come better “let’s hope that better times will come”.
el hombre viene del mono *the man comes from the monkey “monkeys are the origin of human beings”.

el periódico trae más información *the newspaper brings more information “there is more information in the newspaper”.

(b) as a component of a phrasal verb:

este departamento ha venido a menos *this department has come to less “this department is not what it used to be”.
el lunes no me viene bien *the Monday not for+me comes well “Monday doesn’t suit me”.
el sistema se vino abajo: *the system self+came down “the system collapsed”.

el empleado viene al empleado *the employee comes on the company “the employee destroyed the company.

الشركة almuwathaf ataa ‘ala ash-sharikah *the employee came on the company “the employee destroyed the company.

الشركة an-nitham ataa biyawa’id *the system came with benifits “the system brought benifits”.

The most basic verbs, such as ir (‘go’) venir (‘come’), stand out for their huge and varied polysemic productivity, either as isolated words or as generators of idioms and pragmatemes.
(c) as a component of an idiom:

*hacer lo que nos viene en gana* *do what to+us comes into desire* “he does what appeals to him”.

no me vengas con excusas *don’t to+me come with excuses* “don’t try to justify what you did”.

*se me va la memoria* *memory goes* “I am losing memory”.

¿a qué viene eso? *to what comes that?* “what is the reason for saying that?”.

From: *min wyn sīt bihāthī al-f̣kar* *from where did you come with these ideas?* “where did you get these ideas from”.

(d) as a component of a pragmateme:

¿cómo te va? *how to+y ou it+goes* “how do you do?”

vamos tirando *we+go pulling [upwards] “I’m doing fine”

The comparison between Arabic and Spanish is striking in the case of *vamos tirando/ahlan dahlīn*: both use a plural pronoun for a singular referent and metaphorical motion verbs, although with opposed paths: upwards in Spanish and downwards in Arabic.

(e) Grammaticalized as an auxiliary of aspectual periphrases

*me voy a jubilar pronto*: *self I+go at retire soon “I will retire soon”;

Conversely, “real” displacement can also be expressed by idiomatic expressions, reducing the predictability of crosslinguistic equivalences and contextual translations. Even the most prototypical satellite verbs (as *run out*) may be paraphrased with phrasal verbs (*clear off; brush off; dash off*) or hyperbolic idioms (*to leg it; take to one’s heels; to show a clean pair of*
heels; to bit it quick; to hotfoot it)

whose Spanish and Arabic equivalents do not necessarily use the “predicted” sequence.

**sp.** salir pitando (*exit whistling);
salir disparado (*exit shot+off);
poner pies en polvorosa (*put feet into dusty);
tomar la del humo (*take the smoky one).

**ar.** ﺑَﺭَﺐِ ﺑِﻌْﺭِﻱ ﺱﺎﻕِﻱ ﻂَﺄْﻝِﻱ ﺱَﺎﻕِﻱ ﻲَﺟُﺮُﻱ ﻰَﺭَﺏَ ﺑَﺮَﺏٌ،

arab yijry saqyh (*exit escaping his feet higher than his head) {Tun.};

kharaja musafiran (*exit whistling) {Jord.};

*exit like a bullet) {Jord., Egyp.}.

**4. Metaphor and context**

In the language system, phrasal verbs often have several meanings, a polysemy that the co-text, the context and/or some shared presuppositions disambiguate in current discourse. A good example of it is the Spanish sequence *estar detrás de* (*be/stay behind of) and its Arabic counterpart (هو وراء يكون وراء). When it is literal, it is a regular syntactic combination with a locative meaning (*being behind* [something or someone]), whereas this sequence becomes quite ambiguous when it functions as a phrasal verb, with at least four figurative meanings (Pamies & Pazos 2018), which, in principle, oppose each other according to certain contextual features, forming its phraseographic contour (Mellado 2018). The Spanish sequence has been analyzed into a medium-sized lemmatized corpus (*Timestamped JSI*) with 157 million tokens (Pamies & Pazos 2018), where 1052 occurrences of <estar detrás de> have been detected, and the contextual meaning of each token has been verified. Interestingly, the (literal) syntactic combination is far from corresponding to the majority: less than 9% of occurrences correspond to this compositional meaning, whereas more than 91% of the occurrences correspond to the other (phraseological) meanings. The Arabic equivalent sequence has been analyzed, using a medium sized lemmatized corpus (*arTenTen*) with 8000 million tokens (also through Sketchengine), where 11,209 occurrences of هو وراء يكون وراء huwa wara/ yakwn wara, have been detected, and the results were similar to those obtained in Spanish, though with a few discrepancies.

---

7 sp. contorno fraseográfico.
The question that arises is: would it be possible, in a much larger corpus, to automate, the discrimination process between the five contextual meanings that have been detected "manually" in the previous experiment? This will depend, first of all, on the accuracy of the recognition of each contour.

The first meaning (A) is a literal combination, with a **locative** value ('to be located at the rear of something [or someone] in space'). Its frequency is surprisingly low: 8.65% in Spanish and 10% in Arabic.

*el que estaba detrás de mí se hacía el dormido*.

*he that was behind of me made himself the asleep

‘the one behind me was pretending to be asleep’

*con ese arte que conservan los que de toda la vida han estado detrás de una barra*.

‘with this art kept by those that since all the life have been behind of a bar

‘with the art of those who have been working in a bar all their life’.

*row first is the one which is behind of the imam

‘the first row is the one behind the imam’.

In Arabic, there may be a semantic difference, since the literal equivalent of ‘*ﻭﺭﺍئﻪ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟصراع ﻋـَـَّـَـُّـَـَّـَـَّـَـُّـَـَّـَـَّـَـُّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~* row first is the one which is behind of the imam

‘the first row is the one behind the imam’.

The second meaning (B) has a figurative **causative** value ('to be the hidden [or unknown] responsible of an event'), corresponding to the great majority of occurrences (82.03% in Spanish and 84% in Arabic):

---


la mano del hombre *estuvo detrás de más de la mitad de los 117 incendios forestales*

*the hand of* the man was *behind of* more than the half of the 177 fires forest

‘more than half of the 117 forest fires were intentional’.

*revealed sources follow-up to the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Jarida, that* ‘Hezbollah is *behind of* the demonstration in front of the American embassy’

*follow-up sources to the Kuwaiti newspaper, Al-Jarida, revealed that Hezbollah incited the demonstration in front of the American embassy’.

The head of the prepositional complement is usually a noun, designating an action whose responsible is more or less concealed. Apart from a few generic hyperonyms, the words that occupy this contour share a common connotative feature: they are abstract nouns designating actions or activities which have been already carried out, harming someone. For example:

acto (‘act’), acontecimiento (‘event’), fracaso (‘failure’), iniciativa (‘initiative’), proyecto (‘project’), reforma (‘reform’), plan (‘plan’), difusión (‘diffusion’), propagación (‘propagation’), campaña (‘campaign’), manifestación (‘demonstration’), boicot (‘boycott’), huelga (‘strike’), compra (‘purchase’), rumor (‘rumor’), denuncia (‘denunciation’), querella (‘lawsuit’), acusación (‘accusation’), mentira (‘lie’), calumnia (‘slander’), filtración (‘leakage’), violencia (‘violence’), ataque (‘attack’), disturbios (‘riot’); conspiración (‘conspiracy’), golpe de estado (‘coup d’état’), represión (‘repression’), asesinato (‘murder’), masacre (‘massacre’), envenenamiento (‘poisoning’), asalto (‘assault’), accidente (‘accident’)...


A contextualized example would be:

ما يجري هو موجة عنف وفوضى وتدمير الممتلكات يقف وراءه مجموعات تريد إشاعة الفوضى

(ma yajry huwah mawjat ‘unf wa tadmyr lilmumtalakat yaqyf wara-hu majmw’at turyd ’isha’at alfawDa)

*What is going on is a wave of violence, chaos and property destruction, behind of which are groups that want to create chaos.*

In a few cases, this position is occupied by concrete nouns, designating people or institutions. It corresponds to an indirect causative chain, where the agent of the event is known, but acts in turn on behalf of someone else, who remains on the sly.

mientras los partidos políticos estén detrás de las asociaciones de estudiantes la mayoría seguirá pasando de votar

*while the political parties are behind of the associations of students the majority will continue passing from vote.*

¿Quién está financiando las actividades de ISIS en Iraq y por qué?

*who is behind of the activity of ISIS in Iraq and why?*
...acusó a Irán de estar detrás de los terroristas de Hamás\(^{17}\)
*accused Iran of being behind of the terrorists of Hamas
‘he/she accused Iran of secretly financing Hamas terrorists’.

In addition to personal proper names, we find in subject position names of institutions or collectivities, such as:

\[
\text{estado} \quad \text{('state')}, \quad \text{organización} \quad \text{('organization')}, \quad \text{empresa/compañía} \quad \text{('company')}, \quad \text{consorcio/consortium} \quad \text{('society')}, \quad \text{prensa/press} \quad \text{('TV channel')}, \quad \text{candidatura/candidacy} \quad \text{('network')}, \quad \text{lobby/lobby} \quad \text{('government')}, \quad \text{sindicato/trade union} \quad \text{('party')}, \quad \text{asociación/association}...
\]

Sometimes, by metonymy or metaphorical personification, it may happen that the agent, in turn, is another action, referring to a chain of events, where the first, causing the second, is metaphorically conceptualized as a hidden person, in order to highlight that the causal relation between both facts was (more or less) unknown before:

\[
\text{el síndrome metabólico está detrás de casi un 10\% de los tumores hepáticos primarios}^{18}
\]
*the syndrome metabolic is behind of almost 10\% of the tumors liver primary
‘the metabolic syndrome is the cause of 10\% of primary liver tumors’.

\[
\text{ضغط إيراني هو وراء تزويد النظام السوري بالمحروقات (Daght, irany huwah wara tazwyd al’iraq lilinitham as-sury bil mahruqat)}^{19}
\]
* Iranian pressure is behind of Iraq providing the Syrian regime with fuel
‘The Iranian pressure is the reason that makes Iraq provides Syrian regime with fuel’.

Although these are open word lists, the sum of the contour characteristics clearly distinguishes this meaning from the literal one, and also from the other figurative values.

The third meaning (C) has a desiderative value (‘to want/seek' [sth/sb]), and it only appears in 3.42\% of the occurrences in Spanish. The left contour is a noun phrase designating persons or institutions, whereas the right contour is a noun phrase designating the object of a a desire whose compliance can never be achieved prior that of the VS itself.

---

However, in Arabic, it is more common to find this value in the variant

\( \text{yasa'a wara} \) (yas'a wara), where 'be' is replaced by 'seek' \( \text{yas'a} \). The Arabic sequence is less frequently used (2.5%) than its Spanish counterpart.

\[ \text{ha comentado que las 'Águilas' estarían detrás de un lateral izquierdo para el torneo}^{20} \]
\[ \ast \text{has commented that the 'Eagles' would be behind of a lateral left for the tournament} \]
\[ \text{he/she has commented that the 'Eagles' would be looking for a left winger} \]
\[ \text{for the competition.} \]

\[ \text{yajib min wara} \]
\[ \text{an yakwn hunak hadaf waDih as-sawt wa alvideo}^{21} \]
\[ \ast \text{there must be a clear objective behind of the use of voice and video.} \]
\[ \text{a clear objective must have motivated the use of voice and video.} \]

Another peculiarity of this meaning is that, if the right contour is a verb, it must be a simple infinitive (188 cases), since desire is conceptually oriented towards the future (this property is not found in Arabic):

\[ \text{estoy detrás de comprar una silla de piel o cuero con ruedas}^{22} \]
\[ \ast \text{I am behind of buy a chair of skin or leather with wheels.} \]
\[ \ast \text{I want to buy a leather chair with rollers.} \]
\[ \text{no me extraña que la banca esté detrás de hacerse con las pensiones públicas}^{23} \]
\[ \ast \text{not me surprises that the bank is behind of making+self with the pensions public} \]
\[ \text{it is no wonder that the banking sector wants to takeover the public pensions'}. \]

The fourth meaning (D) has a comparative value ('to be inferior in order'), with a frequency of (4.18%) in Spanish, and even less in Arabic (1.5%). It establishes a hierarchy between individuals, collectives or institutions. Both right and left contour generally exclude verbs and

\[ \text{http://www.eldigitaldemadrid.es/articulo/comunidad-de-madrid/1438/rato-propone-prolongar-la-edad-de-jubilacion-porque-la-actual-data-de-1900/p1).} \]
abstract names. This feature is enough to distinguish it contextually from B, and (only partially) from C.

*el equipo inglés es uno de los máximos ganadores del certamen, con cinco trofeos, sólo está detrás de Real Madrid y Milán*.

*the team English is one of the maximum winners of the competition, with five trophies, only behind Real Madrid and Milan*.

*the danger real is the danger Israeli and behind of it is the American*.

However, this meaning is not syntactically distinguishable from A (literal), since its complements are localizable entities. Even so, and for this very reason, the criterion that justifies the hierarchy usually appears explicitly in the co-text:

*el único índice en el que España está detrás de Portugal y Grecia es el que se refiere a la protección de la familia*.

*the only index in the which Spain is behind of Portugal and Greece is that which refers to the protection of the family*.

*confirmed foreign minister Muhammad al-Hadhrami that Qassem Suleimani, who was killed yesterday in a raid American in Iraq, and behind of him is the Iranian regime, is the first sponsor of terrorism in the world*.


first sponsor of terrorism in the world and the Iranian regime comes after him’.

The meaning (E), which is the less frequent in both Spanish (1.71%) and Arabic (2%), has a comitative value (‘to support’, ‘to help’, ‘to trust and accompany’):

tengo una familia que siempre está detrás de mi apoyándome en todo28.
*I+have a family that always is behind me, supporting+me in everything
‘my family is always backing me and supports me in everything’. 

*to my family which stands behind of me and supports me always.
‘to my family which is backing me and supports me all the time’.

This metaphor is connected to a more general cultureme categorizing subjects or adepts as “followers” and kings or prophets as “guides”, designating by extension an unconditional support, closer to ideological obedience than to help, strictly speaking.

todos los bolivianos estamos detrás de nuestro Presidente, apoyándole y respaldándolo29
*all the Bolivians we+are behind of our President, supporting and backing+him
‘all Bolivians [we] are behind our President, supporting and backing him’. 

*we are always behind of his majesty, king Mohammed VI, may God support him.
‘we are always following His Majesty, King Mohammed VI, may God support him’.

5. Conclusions

1. English satellite verbs correspondences in Spanish and Arabic are generally complex sentences with two verbs: *(he ran out = salió corriendo = خرج ركضًا)*. However, this rule only applies when the verb refers to “real” (physical) motion, whereas metaphorical motion gives rise to units of a different functional nature, although formally identical: phrasal verbs, which have not stable nor predictable translation equivalents in Spanish and Arabic (e.g. *give up = abandonar = يتخلى yatakhala*).

2. One of their translation equivalence may be another phrasal verb, a form which also exists in both Spanish and Arabic, although in a more reduced number.

3. Since this feature is idiomatic, the most relevant structural limit with satellite constructions would not be syntactic but semantic: separating literal and figurative combinations, regardless of whether displacement is the source or the target of the conceptual mapping. The formal homonymy between both structures (V+Adv/Prep) is related to contextual conditions, even when the phrasal verb is in turn polysemic.

4. The similarity between Spanish and Arabic motion metaphors is unexpectedly high in this point. In some cases (as in sp. *estar detrás de / ar. هو وراء / hu wara*) there are striking coincidences in inner form, actual meaning and contextual restrictions.
## Appendix 1: Some Spanish phrasal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acabar con</td>
<td><em>finish with “exterminate” [someone]</em></td>
<td>acabar con alguien “to exterminate someone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acostarse con</td>
<td><em>lay with “have sexual relations with” [someone]</em></td>
<td>acostarse con alguien “to have sexual relations with someone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrasar con</td>
<td><em>devastate with “eat completely” [something]</em></td>
<td>arrasar con algo “to eat completely”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirar a</td>
<td><em>aspirate at “to wish” [a certain situation or status]</em></td>
<td>aspirar a una situación “to wish a situation”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caer bien</td>
<td><em>fall well “be pleasant” / “be friendly” [someone]</em></td>
<td>caer bien con alguien “to be pleasant with someone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caer mal</td>
<td><em>fall badly “be unpleasant” / “be unfriendly” [someone]</em></td>
<td>caer mal con alguien “to be unpleasant with someone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caer muy bajo</td>
<td><em>fall very low “to demean oneself extremely” [someone]</em></td>
<td>caer muy bajo con uno mismo “to demean oneself extremely”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caerle encima</td>
<td><em>fall above “attack” [someone]</em></td>
<td>caerle encima a alguien “to attack someone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cagarse encima</td>
<td><em>shit+oneself above “be extremely frightened” [someone]</em></td>
<td>cagarse encima con uno mismo “to be extremely frightened”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contar con</td>
<td><em>count with “to rely on [someone’s] help / to dispose of [some means]</em></td>
<td>contar con alguien “to rely on someone’s help”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar a</td>
<td><em>give at “be oriented to” [a given landscape]</em></td>
<td>dar a un pais “to be oriented to a country”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar en</td>
<td><em>give in “to hit in/at” [somewhere]</em></td>
<td>dar en una habitación “to hit in a room”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar con</td>
<td><em>give with “find” / “find out” [someone / something]</em></td>
<td>dar con una persona “to find out about a person”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar para</td>
<td><em>give for “be enough for” [something]</em></td>
<td>dar para una tarea “to be enough for a task”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar por</td>
<td><em>give for “assume” / “presume” / “take for” / “give up for” [+Adj.]</em></td>
<td>dar por un amigo “to give up for a friend”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darse a</td>
<td><em>give+oneself at “become fully addicted to” [a vice]</em></td>
<td>darse a un vicio “to become addicted to a vice”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dárselas de</td>
<td><em>give+self+them of “to boast about” [unjustified merits]</em></td>
<td>dárselas de sus logros “to boast about his merits”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejar de lado</td>
<td>*leave aside “not to take into account” [something] / “to leave [someone] out of”</td>
<td>dejar de lado un problema “to leave a problem aside”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejar fuera</td>
<td><em>leave out “to leave out of it” [someone]</em></td>
<td>dejar fuera de un proyecto “to leave out of a project”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dejar en</td>
<td><em>leave in “sell for” [a lower price]</em></td>
<td>dejar en un precio inferior “to sell for a lower price”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deshacerse de</td>
<td><em>undo+self of “to get rid of” [someone / something]</em></td>
<td>deshacerse de un problema “to get rid of a problem”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>echar abajo</td>
<td><em>throw downwards “destroy” [something]</em></td>
<td>echar abajo un edificio “to destroy a building”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>echar de menos</td>
<td><em>throw of less “to miss” [someone / something]</em></td>
<td>echar de menos a un amigo “to miss a friend”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>echarse atrás</td>
<td><em>throw+self backwards “not to comply a deal or promess” [someone]</em></td>
<td>echarse atrás de un acuerdo “not to comply a deal”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estar de más</td>
<td><em>be of more “to be superfluous or unnecessary” [someone /something]</em></td>
<td>estar de más en un trabajo “to be superfluous or unnecessary in a work”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estar detrás</td>
<td><em>be behind “be the hidden cause of” [something]</em></td>
<td>estar detrás de una situación “to be behind a situation”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estar en contra</td>
<td><em>be in against “to oppose” [someone / something]</em></td>
<td>estar en contra de algo “to oppose something”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacer de</td>
<td><em>make of “to play the role of” [someone]</em></td>
<td>hacer de un jugador “to play the role of a player”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haciérselo con</td>
<td><em>make+self+it “have sexual relations with” [someone]</em></td>
<td>haciérselo con alguien “to have sexual relations with someone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haciérselo encima</td>
<td><em>make+self+it upon “be extremely frightened” [someone]</em></td>
<td>haciérselo encima con uno mismo “to be extremely frightened”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir a por</td>
<td><em>go at for “attack (premeditatively)” [someone]</em></td>
<td>ir a por un enemigo “to attack an enemy”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ir de *go of “to play momentarily the role of” [function] / “be dressed as” [someone]
Llegar lejos *arrive far “be socially successful” [someone]
Llevarse bien con *to carry+self well “have good relations with” [someone]
Llevarse mal *to carry+self badly “have bad relations with” [someone]
Llevarse por delante *carry by forwards “kill” / “run over” [someone]
Meterse a *put+self at “to get a (new) job as” [someone]
Meterse con *put+self with “tease” [someone]
Meterse en *put+self into “get involved in” [something]
Mirar adelante *look forward “think about the future” [someone]
Mirar mal *look badly “feel mistrust of” / “fell dislike of” [someone]
Mirar por (“look after” [someone / something]
Morirse por *to die for “to feel a strong desire of” [something]
Nacer para *be+born for “have a strong vocation to” / “be born to be a” [someone]
Pasar de *pass from “ignore / despise” [someone / something]
Pasar por *pass by “be supposed to be” [type of person or quality]
Pasarlo bien *pass+it well “enjoy” / “to have a great time” [someone]
Pasarlo mal *pass+it badly “suffer” “endure many adversities” [someone]
Pensar mal *think badly “to suspect” [someone about someone else]
Ponerse hasta arriba “get stoned” [someone]
Portarse bien *carry+self well “to behave correctly” [someone / something]
Portarse mal *carry+self badly “misbehave” [someone]
Prestarse a *lend+self at “allow or facilitate the performance of an immoral or illegal act” [someone]
Quedar bien *remain well “make a good impression” [someone]
Quedar como *remain like “turn out to look as being a” [someone]
Quedar con *remain with “to make a date with” [someone]
Quedarse con *remain+self with (“burlarse” / “engaño”) [someone with someone else]
Quedar en *remain in “to agree on” [someone with someone else]
Quedar mal *remain badly “causar mala impresión” / “to loose face” [someone]
Quitarse de encima *take+out+self from upon “to get rid of” [something / someone]
Quitarse de enmedio *take+out+self from in+the+middle “to escape discreetly” [someone]
Reparar en *repair in “to notice” / “to realize” [someone]
Salir adelante *exit forwards “survive” [someone or something]
salir bien (“turn out into success) [something for someone]
salir mal (“turn out into defeat”) [something for someone]
salir por *exit by “cost” [+price] [something for someone]
sentar bien *sit well “make feel good” [something for someone]
sentar mal *sit badly “be indigestible” / “to upset” [something for someone]
tachar de *cross+out of “accuse of being [+derogatory adjective] [someone]
tomárselo bien *take+self+it well “take it easy” [someone]
tomárselo mal *take+self+it badly “take it badly” [someone]
venir a menos *come to less “to fall into decline” [someone / something]
venir bien *come+to+him/her well “to be convenient” [something for someone]
venir mal *come+to+him/her badly “no to be convenient” [something for someone]
venirse abajo *come+self downwards “collapse” [something]/ “be extremely disheartened” [someone]
venirse encima *come+self upon “be imminent” [something (bad)]
vérselas con *see+self+them with “facing” [someone with someone else]
**Appendix 2: Some Arabic phrasal verbs (Al-Rayeh, 2009).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Literally</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ﻷﻧﻲ ﻓﻲ</td>
<td>atay fy</td>
<td>*come in</td>
<td>need something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻷﻧﻲ ﻣﻦ</td>
<td>atay min</td>
<td>*come from</td>
<td>originated from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻷﻧﻲ ﻋﻦ</td>
<td>atay 'an</td>
<td>*come instead</td>
<td>replace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻷﻧﻲ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>atay 'ala</td>
<td>*come on/over</td>
<td>destroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻷﻧﻲ ﺑـ</td>
<td>atay bi</td>
<td>*come with</td>
<td>bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أَخْذ ﻓﻲ</td>
<td>khatha 'an</td>
<td>*take from</td>
<td>learn from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أَخْذ ﻋﺎلﻰ</td>
<td>khatha 'ala</td>
<td>*take on</td>
<td>reproach / criticize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أَخْذ ﺑـ</td>
<td>khatha bi</td>
<td>*take with</td>
<td>accept / commit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أَخْذ ﻓﻲ</td>
<td>khatha fy</td>
<td>*take in</td>
<td>start with something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>إِخْضﺎع ﻷـ</td>
<td>ikhDa'h li</td>
<td>*submit to</td>
<td>subject someone to something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺍﺭﻛﻦ ﻋﻠى</td>
<td>rkan 'ala</td>
<td>*count on</td>
<td>trust in someone's help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺍﺷﺎر ﻋﻠی</td>
<td>shara 'ala</td>
<td>*point over</td>
<td>advise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺍﺷﺘﺎﻕ ﻋﻠى</td>
<td>ashtaq ila</td>
<td>*miss to</td>
<td>miss someone/ something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بَﻘﻴﺖ ﺑـ</td>
<td>baqit ka</td>
<td>*stay like</td>
<td>look like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَﺟﻊ ﻣﻦ</td>
<td>taj'al min</td>
<td>*make of</td>
<td>play a role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺛُر إِلﻰ</td>
<td>ila· Taradada</td>
<td>*doubt to</td>
<td>go frequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺛُر ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>taradada 'ala</td>
<td>*doubt on/over</td>
<td>visit frequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جٓاُحِي بِأَهِيَّة</td>
<td>jah bahy</td>
<td>*it came good to</td>
<td>his suits him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جٓاُحِي خَاوِب</td>
<td>jah khayb</td>
<td>*it came bad to</td>
<td>it doenst suit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جٓاَيِلَكْم</td>
<td>jaytkm</td>
<td>*coming for you</td>
<td>premeditated attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خَرْج بِأَهِيَّة</td>
<td>kharaj bahy</td>
<td>*exit well</td>
<td>look good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خَرْج خَاوِب</td>
<td>khray khayb</td>
<td>*exit bad</td>
<td>look bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خَرْج ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>kharaja 'ala</td>
<td>*exit on</td>
<td>rebel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خَرْج ﺑـ</td>
<td>kharaja bi</td>
<td>*exit with</td>
<td>conclude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خَرْج ﻋِلْيَكْ</td>
<td>khray 'alyk</td>
<td>*exit on you</td>
<td>it suits you/looks good on you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺭَجِع ﻋﻦ</td>
<td>raja 'an</td>
<td>*back of</td>
<td>retreat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Word(s)</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻓﻲ ﺭﺟﻊ</td>
<td>*back in breach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻳﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*respond to return</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺲرا ﺛﺎلا</td>
<td>*anchor in accept an offer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﻓﻞ ﺳار</td>
<td>*walk from pass through</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺳهر ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*stay awake look after</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺷﺎﺦ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*pee on himself be extremely scared</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ ﺃن</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺮ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*anchor in accept an offer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ ﺑـ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺳﺎﺭ ﺃن</td>
<td>*walk from pass through</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺳﺎﺭ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*stay awake look after</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺷﺎﺦ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*pee on himself be extremely scared</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺷﺎﺦ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺷﺎﺦ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺃن</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺷﺎﺦ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺮ</td>
<td>*anchor in accept an offer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺷﺎﺦ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*anchor in accept an offer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺮ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*anchor in accept an offer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ ﻋﻠﻰ</td>
<td>*anchor in accept an offer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺑـ</td>
<td>*exit with costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﺧﻮﻱ</td>
<td>*exit from my nose be fed up with something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻧﺎﮐﺤﺎ</td>
<td>*wish from renounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Literal and Metaphorical Motion in Context

- *interfer with* to bother
- *interfer in* to intervene in a matter
- *cross out from* to delete
- *behave well* to respect moral standards
- *think bad* to suspect, misunderstand
- *behave well* to respect moral standards
- *think bad* to suspect, misunderstand
- *continue forward* to fervently wish for something
- *finish in/over* to exterminate
- *eliminate in/on* to have sexual relations with / marginalizing someone
- *leave aside* to deliberately ignoring something / marginalizing someone
- *look at* to aspire to
- *deal with* to face someone who is fearfull
- *put on aside* to deliberately ignoring something / marginalizing someone
- *count on* to trust in someone's help
- *escape from* to get rid of
References


Literal and Metaphorical Motion in Context


CHAPTER TWO

FREQUENCY OF THE PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN DISCOURSE AS A PART OF THE PHRASEOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

DMITRY YURCHENKO¹

1. Introduction

The development of computer technologies and the emergence of modern research tools give impulses to new scientific approaches to well-researched problems of linguistics and a fresh view angle on them. The corpus-based approach to empirical material or searching for material in an Internet browser has become a sufficient part of linguistic research today. The rich empirical material supplied from computer sources can tell a lot about the real life of language units in discourse. Sometimes the results obtained may contradict the traditional views on linguistic phenomena, paradigms, and researchers’ personal beliefs.

One of the applied areas of linguistics is computer lexicography, which has greatly benefited from the development of modern computer technologies. Its products have very seriously displaced traditional print dictionaries and are now widely used in language learning, teaching, research and translation. Electronic dictionaries are available on computers, gadgets, and online on the Internet. They are integrated in many Internet services and have become a part of the common life for modern people. However, their quality in comparison with traditional academic dictionaries can raise a lot of questions about the depth of study of the material despite their volume and functionality. However, in spite of all their shortcomings, we must recognize that computer dictionaries are the reality used by a wide range of users.

¹ Pyatigorsk State University, Russia, Novorossiysk Branch, dmitry_yurchenko@mail.ru
The rapid development of computer lexicography has set new standards for the volume of dictionaries and their functionality. When all the restrictions on the volume of the dictionary imposed by publishers on traditional print versions are practically removed, the question of a complete fixation of the obtained empirical material seems to be quite natural.

This question fully relates to the phraseological units of the language. The use of computer technologies in the collection, processing, and fixation of such units let the researcher rethink issues about the nature of phraseological units, their understanding in linguistics and related sciences, the phraseological paradigm of language, its structure and scope.

The chapter will be devoted to some reflections on how information about the frequency of phraseological units of a language in discourse can be used in phraseographic practice. We try to show how the frequency of phraseological units can be of interest to the authors of modern phraseological dictionaries. And how this knowledge can theoretically comprehend the scope of the phraseological paradigm and its structure in a new way.

2. Main Part

2.1. Phraseological Units and Phraseography

The reason for reflection was the participation in a very ambitious didactic and lexicographic project Russisch aktuell-erklärt-geübt-beherrscht done at the University of Leipzig. This project was devoted to the comprehensive description of Russian as a foreign language for German native speakers. Its results are presented in the educational, didactic and lexicographic product Russisch aktuell - Das Komplettpaket (2019). One of the Russisch aktuell modules is Russian-German computer phraseological dictionary Das Russisch-Deutsche Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2019). On the base of the Russian phraseology, we will try to show what use we have of examples from the discourse for understanding the place of a phraseological unit within the dictionary and, to some extent, within the phraseological paradigm.

Phraseological dictionaries and phraseographic practices are some of the main areas of applied implementation of phraseology theoretical provisions. So we will briefly address the main characteristics of the phraseological unit as an object of phraseographic fixation. After quite a long debate on the terminology of phraseological units and the scope of phraseology, it was realized that the term “phraseme” may be used as a
single name to refer to all the units that form the phraseological paradigm (Burger et al. 2007). It is the term “phraseme” that has become established in recent years to denote units of phraseology, for which the integrative criteria are the following:

- their multicomponent nature;
- stability (relatively stable components);
- use with a relatively stable component composition in discourse;
- complete or partial idiomaticity;
- fixation by lexicographic and phraseographic sources.

In this chapter, we understand the terms “phraseological units” and “phrasemes” as synonyms, and in our phraseographic practice we were guided by the criteria mentioned above while selecting material to fix in the dictionary.

Phraseological units are extremely heterogeneous in their nominative function, syntactic structure, semantics, degree of metaphorization, cognitive and linguistic nature. However, such heterogeneity does not affect the factor of “recognition” of the phraseological unit to native speakers. One of the facts in favor of a broad understanding of phraseological units and the rejection of classification division based on formal structural and semantic features is the psycholinguistic research of a person’s mental lexicon. Such studies (Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen 2009), (Dobrovol’skij 2016) found that the phraseological mental lexicon is part of the person’s mental lexicon. The phraseological module of the mental lexicon is a complex formation that does not have clear boundaries and contains some transient zones. Phraseological units themselves are not stored in the phraseological module by classes, which are typical of formal categories, for example, structural-semantic classification. Numerous semantic and associative bridges that connect phraseological units with each other and with the cultural-semiotic shift play an important role. This fact does not allow us to draw a clear boundary between classes of phraseological units and to separate one class from another only on the basis of formal properties.

When the formal structural and semantic characteristics of phraseological units do not appear to be so important, questions arise: Is it possible to classify phraseological units based on the principle of their frequency in the discourse? And what can the frequency tell the researcher for phraseographic purposes?

Modern phraseology and phraseography have already answered this question by issuing phraseological dictionaries and fixing in them different structural units which are known to native speakers and widely spread in
the discourse. Within this approach the researcher deals only with “living” phraseological units. They should be known to modern native speakers and used in communication. The researcher using the pragmatics oriented approach compares not formally equal and faceless language units, but their communicative and pragmatic significance for native speakers. Frequency can be considered in the expression of the socio-pragmatic filter that separates the relevant units for a given society from the less relevant or completely irrelevant units. This approach is based on the communicative-pragmatic value of a specific unit present in native speakers’ minds.

With this approach, the phraseological paradigm can be represented in the form of a graded construct, in which phraseological units occupy a place according to their spread in the modern language. In this way, we consider the frequency in the discourse as the “recognition” of a phraseological unit by native speakers. The degree of “recognition” can be different. The units with the highest frequency in discourse form the core of the structure, within which it is also possible to differentiate phraseological units depending on their frequency in the discourse. The remaining phraseological units occupy places which are located at different distances from the core in such areas as the transient zone and the periphery of the phraseological paradigm.

A relative unanimity reigns within the core of the phraseological paradigm. It is fixed by phraseological dictionaries (Telia et al., 2009). The main questions are raised by numerous units which can be attributed to the phraseological periphery. It is not always clear where the core ends and the transient zone begins. In addition, there appear many questions on which units form the periphery and how far it can extend.

In the discourse there are stable combinations with the structure and semantics of the sentence type, primarily proverbs and sayings. M. Stepanova and I. Cernyseva (Stepanova and Cernyseva 1986) believe that not all proverbs, but only the most common ones, can be recognized as phraseological units. Non-common and not widely spread stable units are not linguistic units. They belong to the sphere of folklore or literature. They are also objects of research in paremiology, along with quotations, aphorisms, winged words, wellerisms, antiproverbs, anecdotes, slogans, stable comparisons, superstitions, inter-textual allusions, etc. At the same time, proverbs and sayings refer to both paremiology and linguistics.

The same idea was shared by G. Permyakov (Permyakov 1988, 14), who believed that proverbs and sayings can be considered in three aspects: as phenomena of language, as phenomena of thought, as phenomena of folklore.
Languages and cultures have accumulated numerous collections of such stable units with contradictory linguistic statuses. Many of them are collected in open sources or are edited in collections of proverbs. From the point of view of comparative lexicography, they are practically not described, and translation correspondences are not recorded in different languages. At the same time, computer phraseography, has all the tools to record them in electronic dictionaries. But what place is reserved there for this numerous group of stable units which have generic similarities with phraseological units? Should they be recorded in phraseological dictionaries?

The units of the paremiology can be widespread in the language, too. The most common proverbs, being the area of intersection of phraseology and paremiology, are traditionally fixed in phraseological dictionaries. For example, some of them can be found in the German Phraseological Dictionary Duden (Duden 2013).

G. Permiakov conducted an experiment to state the knowledge of paremiological material by a modern native speaker (Permiakov 1971). According to the data obtained, the average urban resident is familiar with 1,495 paremias. Among them there are 268 proverbs, and the remaining units are represented by quotations, aphorisms, winged words, wellerisms, anti-proverbs, anecdotes, slogans, stable comparisons, etc.

W. Mieder (Mieder 2007) emphasizes that the experimental data on average paremiological knowledge (about 300 proverbs and 1,500 paremias) can be considered universal for today's native speakers in the European language and cultural space.

Based on such an objective picture, we entered widespread paroemias in our dictionary, which we considered as phraseologically related units. They are known to native speakers, are available via associative access, have relatively stable components and tend to be used in the same way in a stable form in the discourse.

Sometimes these are “phraseological fragments”, according to which it is possible to reconstruct cultural entities, for example, anecdotes, jokes and other paremiological units. Their internal form can serve as a starting point for new phraseological units, which, sometimes, become more recognizable and common in use than the original. The paremiological knowledge is an important factor in communication both in the native language and in the foreign language.

These arguments suggest that it is possible to consider phraseological units and phraseologically related units (paremia in the broad sense of the word) as units that can be recorded in a computer phraseological dictionary with special marks. These marks can reflect the place of these units on the
At the periphery or on the farthest periphery of the phraseological paradigm and have a usage close to zero.

2.2. Structure of the Phraseological Paradigm and Its Reflection in Computer Phraseography

Das Russische Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2019) currently contains 50,160 phraseological and phraseologically related units. It crosses all the boundaries of "pure phraseology" and fixes the units of paremiology and folklore, which, according to formal characteristics, can be attributed to phraseological units. In this sense, the dictionary can be understood as a new product, which combines phraseology with paremiology lexicographically. It covers these linguistic and cultural phenomena broadly. We carried out a complex fixation of extensive periphery and far periphery of phraseological paradigm of the Russian language, which are mostly unknown to modern native Russian speakers.

The integral criteria of the units in the dictionary include multi-component nature, relative stability of the component composition, speech use mainly in a stable form, and fixation in the lexicographic and phraseographic sources.

Let us consider the frequency of phraseological units in the discourse in the context of their recognition by native speakers and their belonging to the core, transient zone and periphery, as well as belonging to the far periphery.

R. Eckert and K. Günter (Eckert and Günter 1992) point out that only 2,000 to 3,000 phraseological units can be considered common and widespread in the language. The phraseology of a standard language is estimated by these authors to contain from 4,000 to 5,000 phraseological units. A special role here is played by the structural type of the language, which prefers either one-component or multi-component nominative units.

In our phraseographic practice, we, following these authors, proceeded from the fact that The Core of the Russian phraseological paradigm should consist of up to 2,000 most commonly used and spread phraseological units. This should be followed by The Transient Zone of up to 3,000 units. We have allocated another 3,000 units to The Periphery. Thus, it was supposed to include about 8,000 phraseological units using the “traditional” phraseographic approach. This area can be considered a Russian phraseological paradigm in sense of “traditional” phraseology. What was left to do with the rest of the material?

It consists of more than 42,000 units, which is many times higher than the volumes processed by traditional phraseography. This material was
assigned to the far periphery. In the area of the far periphery, we also identified a fairly extensive group of phraseological units, which we called “The Farthest Periphery”. Units from this area had either extremely low or zero frequency in the discourse and their presence in the Russian-speaking space was limited to paremiological collections. The consideration of language material using the scientific metaphor “The Core –The Transient Zone – The Periphery” is typical of the cognitive approach to classifications. This approach is often criticized in scientific circles in relation to phraseology. However, we found this approach quite convenient to study the problem of the phraseological units’ frequency, although not ideal.

To assign phraseological units to a particular area or to determine its segment (position within the area), the authors of the dictionary developed and applied a system of frequency indexes, which was assigned to each phraseological and phraseologically related unit when it was entered into the dictionary. It reflected the phraseological unit occurrence frequency in the discourse through the found contexts. Depending on the frequency discourse range, each phraseological unit received a P-index of the use or discourse frequency. This index also reflected how spread a unit is in the language and its place in its segment within the area (for example, in The Core). The authors used the following system of the P-indexes for the material in the dictionary:

- P0 – The Core of the paradigm (The Centre);
- P1 – The Core of the paradigm;
- P2 – The Transient Zone (close to The Core);
- P3 – The Transient Zone (far from The Core);
- P4 – The Periphery;
- P5 – The Far Periphery;
- P5+ - The Farthest Periphery (beyond the “traditional” phraseological paradigm).

In this understanding The Core of the phraseological paradigm consists of phraseological units P0, P1, The Transient Zone P2, P3, and The Periphery P4. Phraseological related units with indexes P5 and P5+, which go beyond the traditional phraseological paradigm, formed The Far and The Farthest Peripheries of the dictionary. This index was made up of the number of contexts with phraseological units delivered by the Internet browser request. If a unit had grammatically flexible components, several requests were made with it to get the maximum number of contexts. For example, for a verb as a component these were contexts in all possible persons, numbers, and tenses. Further, the contexts were summed up and
selectively checked for a “reality” of the context and compared with the number of occurrences of the phraseological unit in the contexts delivered by the Russian National Corpus (2020).

The authors of the Das Russisch-Deutsche Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2019) faced the question of what numerical indicators should be used to determine the P-index. We proceeded from the approximate number of units that can be included in a particular segment and area (more details above) and then looked at the upper and lower quantitative indicators of the resulting contexts. For a browser search, these metrics looked like:

- P0 – from 300000 and more contexts;
- P1 – 150000 – 299999;
- P2 – 70000 – 149999;
- P3 – 20000 – 69999;
- P4 – 5000 – 19999;
- P5 – 100 – 4999;
- P5+ - 1-99.

As a rule, the check on the Russian National Corpus gave a confirmation of the P-index of the phraseological unit. No unit with the P4-index had less than 10 contexts in the corpus. Units with the P5-index were located in the range of 1-9 contexts, although there were some exceptions. Units with the P5+-index had no contexts.

We used not only corpus data to find the frequency of phraseological units. The corpus is designed to model a language with all its registers, but not all sub-corpora that reflect these registers have a balanced representation of the language material.

To check the validity of the approach we developed, we compared our results on the P-index with results of a questionnaire-interview among native speakers. The questionnaire-interview was conducted among native speakers, in which they were asked to evaluate the use of 100 phraseological and phraseologically related units. These units, taken from open sources, were checked for frequency and received their P-indexes in our computer dictionary. The questionnaire-list consisted of 10 P0-units, 10 P1-units, 10 P2-units, 10 P3-units, 10 P4-units, 40 P5-units the 10 P5+-units. For example:

- P0 - на халыву
- P1 – море по колено (кому-н.)
- P2 – спит и видит (кто-н.)
- P3 – держаться в тени (кого-н./чего-н.)
- P4 – забот полон рот (у кого-н.)
- P5 – что зайцу курево (что-н.)
P5+ - Дурак камень в воду бросит – семеро умных не достанут.

In some way these data reflected the proportions of phraseological units with indexes from the dictionary (first of all, a large number of P5 units), but The Core, The Transient Zone and The Periphery were represented evenly in the questionnaire with 10 units each, while in the dictionary these segments differ in the number of units. This was done in order to take a closer look at the differentiation of indexes among widespread phraseological units.

The P-indexes were initially unknown to the informants. They were asked to set their own index for each unit, using their own language sense. The same P-indexation was used for the evaluation. It was from P0 to P5+. The informants gave the P0 to the most spread units and the P5+ to the outdated ones.

P0 – very widespread (The Centre of The Core);
P1 – widespread (The Core);
P2 - spread (The Transient Zone near The Core);
P3 – medium spread (The Transient Zone farther from The Core);
P4 – weakly spread (The Periphery);
P5 – non-spread (The Far Periphery in our understanding);
P5+ - outdated (The Farthest Periphery in our understanding).

In addition, the informants had to mark those phraseological units which are in their active use. 40 native speakers of the Russian language aged 20 to 73 years with secondary and higher education took part in the survey.

We used a reference scale for the processing of the questionnaire results. It was assumed that in a scale of 7 indexes from P0 to P5+, the P+-index was formed based on the fact that completely outdated and unknown units received the average 5 from the native speakers (the lowest mark in the informant assessment) and for the rest 6 indexes the average range (step) was set which was equal to 0.83. The scale looked like the following:

P0 – the average index for each phraseological unit in this segment was from 0 to 0.83;
P1 – 0.84 – 1.67;
P2 – 1.68 – 2.49;
P3 – 2.50 – 3.33;
P4 – 3.34 – 4.16;
P5 – 4.17 – 4.99;
P5+ - 5.
When processing the results, we took into account both the fact of matching/not matching (discrepancy) with the area of the phraseological paradigm (The Core – P0, P1, The Transient Zone – P2, P3, The Periphery – P4, The Far Periphery – P5, The Farthest Periphery – P5+), and with the number of segments within it (P0, P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P5+). The results showed that the degree of the P-indexes matching in the list of phraseological units from our dictionary and the P-indexes given by native speakers was 71% for areas and 67% for segments within these areas. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№</th>
<th>Phraseological Unit</th>
<th>Contexts in Internet</th>
<th>The P-index in the dictionary</th>
<th>The references for the P-index in the questionnaire</th>
<th>The average P-index given by native speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>на халву</td>
<td>856,000</td>
<td>P0</td>
<td>0.75 (reference 0.75-0.83)</td>
<td>P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>море по колено (кому-н.)</td>
<td>296,000</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>1.4 (reference 0.84-1.67)</td>
<td>P1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>спит и видит (кто-н.)</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>1.75 (reference 1.68-2.49)</td>
<td>P2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>держаться в тени (кого-н. /чего-н.)</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>2.5 (reference 2.5-3.33)</td>
<td>P3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>забот полон рот (у кого-н.)</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>P4</td>
<td>3.5 (reference 3.34-4.16)</td>
<td>P4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>что зайцу курево (что-н.)</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>P5</td>
<td>4.25 (reference 4.17-4.99)</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Дурак камень в воду бросит – семеро умных не достанут.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P5+</td>
<td>5 (reference 5)</td>
<td>P5+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In our opinion, this is a fairly high result. It may confirm that the method of the phraseological unit frequency identification and the place detection within the phraseological paradigm can be considered valid. The
units from The Farthest Periphery showed the result of 100% (these units are not known to native speakers).

Units from The Far Periphery showed the result of 90% matching.

At the same time, there were certain discrepancies between the P-index from the dictionary and the P-index given by the informants. The discrepancy within one area was only 4%, while the degree of discrepancy between areas was 29%. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№</th>
<th>Phraseological Unit</th>
<th>Contexts in Internet</th>
<th>The P-index in the dictionary</th>
<th>The references for the P-index in the questionnaire</th>
<th>The average P-index given by native speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>прибрать к рукам (что-н.)</td>
<td>286,000</td>
<td>Р1</td>
<td>3 (reference 2.5-3.33)</td>
<td>Р3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>как на подбор</td>
<td>296,000</td>
<td>Р1</td>
<td>2.5 (reference 2.5-3.33)</td>
<td>Р3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Поезд ушёл (чей-н.)</td>
<td>272,000</td>
<td>Р1</td>
<td>0.5 (reference 0-0.83)</td>
<td>Р0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>лить воду на мельницу (кого-н.)</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>Р4</td>
<td>2.75 (reference 2.5-3.33)</td>
<td>Р3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>дело принципа</td>
<td>13,700</td>
<td>Р4</td>
<td>1.75 (reference 1.68-2.49)</td>
<td>Р2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest discrepancies were observed between The Core and The Transient Zone, followed by discrepancies between The Transient Zone and The Periphery. The discrepancies were observed in both directions. The informants both exaggerated the P-index and downplayed it. There were practically no discrepancies between the P-indexes of phraseological units from The Far Periphery and The Farthest Periphery (5 and 5+).

The greatest discrepancies in the P-index were related to the common phraseological units. This can be explained by the fact that the “degree of recognition” and the degree of spread for the phraseological units was determined by age of the informants and also their personal language preferences.

Out of 100 phraseological units, native speakers noted 53 units as being used by themselves. Most of the units have dictionary indexes P0-P4. 47 units were marked as unknown and non-spread by any native
speakers. All of them had the P5 and the P5+ dictionary indexes. On average, 25.25 phraseological units were marked by native speakers as being used in their own speech. The use-index of phraseological units by native speakers (0 – the minimum indicator, not used by anyone and 1 – the maximum, used by everybody) was in the range from 0.05 to 0.81.

The data from the native speakers’ surveys were correlated with the dictionary data, which can be considered as confirmation of the validity of the approach used to find the frequency of the phraseological unit in discourse and to assign its P-index. As noted above, the dictionary Das Russische Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2019) includes 50,160 phraseological and phraseologically related units. The phraseographic landscape of our dictionary looks like this:

- P0 - 531 units;
- P1 – 1,213 units;
- P2 – 1,365 units;
- P3 – 1,585 units;
- P4 – 3,374 units;
- P5 – 31,647 units;
- P5+ - 10,445 units.

The structure and scope of the “classical” phraseological paradigm of the Russian language built on the principles of phraseological units’ frequency can look like this:

- The Core – 1,744 units (21.6%);
- The Transient Zone – 2,950 units (36.5%);
- The Periphery – 3,374 units (41.9%).

The paradigm in this sense contains 8068 phraseological units. This is 100 % of the “classical” widespread phraseological units.

For the print version of the dictionary Das Russische Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2013), we extracted from our database exactly these 8068 phraseological units with the P0-P4 indexes. In the print version we also tried to show the place of phraseological units in The Core (P0 and P1), The Transient Zone (P2 and P3) and The Periphery (P4) through the font of the lemma. In the computer version of the dictionary, the P-index as a mark of the frequency in the discourse is shown directly in the dictionary entry of the phraseological unit.

The computer version of the dictionary contains a very large number of phraseologically related units that are not commonly used and not spread. If they are added to the “classical” paradigm, the paradigm could add two
more vast areas, the units of which have either very low or practically zero use and are almost not found in the discourse.

The Far Periphery consists of 31,647 units;
The Farthest Periphery has 10,445 units.

All units of The Farthest Periphery having the P 5+-index have some lexicographic marks as a distinguishing feature. Such marks include “rare”, “uncommon”, “obsolete”, “obsolete and rare”, and “obsolete and uncommon”. Phraseologically related units got these marks if we received from 1 to 99 their contexts by the Internet enquiry. Such units are biblical quotations, proverbs from collections, and other paroemias which are almost unknown to modern native speakers.

The Farthest Periphery consisting of the units with the P5+-index can also be divided into several segments, where the + sign stays for one of the differentiating markers:

P5 “rare” – 3,018 units;
P5 “uncommon” - 2,298 units;
P5 “obsolete” – 3,119 units;
P5 “obsolete and rare” - 78 units;
P5 “obsolete and unused” – 1,932 units.

If “classical” phraseological units are combined with the elements of the paremiological paradigm having similar formal language characteristics but not known to the native speakers, we get an extensive paradigm of the dictionary Das Russische Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2019). Its entire structure will look like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>P-Index</th>
<th>Number of Units</th>
<th>Percent in the Dictionary Paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Core</td>
<td>P0</td>
<td>1,744</td>
<td>3.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>2.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Intransient Zone</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>2.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>1,585</td>
<td>3.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Periphery</td>
<td>P4</td>
<td>3,374</td>
<td>6.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Far Periphery</td>
<td>P5</td>
<td>31,647</td>
<td>63.27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Farthest Periphery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phraseological Unit</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P5 «rare»</td>
<td>3,018</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5 «uncommon»</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5 «obsolete»</td>
<td>3,119</td>
<td>6.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5 «obsolete and rare”</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5 «obsolete and unused»</td>
<td>1,932</td>
<td>3.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>50,160</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Conclusions

We can make some conclusions from the material described in the chapter.

The frequency of a phraseological unit in discourse can be an indicator of its recognizability and spread among native speakers. The most frequent phraseological units form the core of the phraseological paradigm, which is usually shown in phraseological dictionaries and got a complex description in a wide range of phraseological studies. The core representatives are “good examples” of phraseological units in the language but the attention of the researchers is not always paid to many “controversial examples” which belong to other paradigm areas.

Other areas of the paradigm are shown from the point of view of phraseography optionally depending on the aims and ambitions of the dictionary authors. The empirical discourse material can serve as a good basis to award each phraseological unit an index which could reflect the pragmatic and communicative value of phraseological unit and to some extend its place in the phraseological paradigm.

Computer phraseography opens up new opportunities both for the presentation of phraseological material in general, and for a separate dictionary entry in particular. In this sense, *Das Russische Phraseologische Wörterbuch (2019)* can be understood as a new product that lexicographically combines phraseology with paremiology, covers and fixes a wide range of linguistic and cultural phenomena. In this regard, the border of phraseology (the question of volume is quite legitimate for print versions of traditional phraseological dictionaries) can be defined in a new way. It can be much broader than it is usually accepted for “classical” phraseological dictionaries.
References


1. Introduction

Phraseological units became an independent linguistic object in Russian relatively recently, less than a hundred years ago. Therefore, many issues of their internal organization and functioning remain debatable. The experts did not reach an agreement on the most important issues: the criteria for including phrases in phraseological units, their typology and functioning in speech. For example, proverbs and sayings that retained the meanings of component words are syntactically separable statements, and they do not perform the function of one member of a sentence. However, they are often included in phraseology under the concept of “phraseology in the broad sense”, since proverbs and sayings have a stable lexical composition, and they are characterized by reproducibility in speech (Vinogradov 1977; Shansky 1985). Phraseology in the narrow sense includes compounds of different types of words, characterized by the stability of the lexical composition and the figurative meaning (Zhukov, Molotkov 2001, Mokienko 2012).

At the same time, during the period of the study, it was identified that phraseological units in the narrow sense have an internal, “closed” system, and they are elements of a macrosystem - sentences. They have a holistic
meaning. Expressing one concept, phraseological units represent one syntactic and semantic valence of the reference word.

Unlike a word form, a phraseological unit (as well as a syntactically indecomposable phrase and a sentence) has an internal structure. The fact that the structural connections of phraseological units are insignificant or weakened (as, for example, in statements, шутка сказать / shutka skazat’ (easily said), куда ни шло / kuda ni shlo (it would be one thing if...), что ни на есть / chto ni na est’ (literally), давать храпака / davat’ khrapaka (to snore heavily), давать круга / davat’ kruga (to take roundabout route), дать маху / dat’ makhu (to mess something up) etc.) allows us to talk about their destroyed system, and the phraseological units themselves should be regarded as restructured models that function in an active, actual, living sentence system (Kasymova 2011). The ability to take the same position as the word, to have equal meaning, the weakening and disintegration of syntactic links within a phraseological unit - these are interdependent processes of the appearance and functioning of phraseological units.

The purpose of our research is to study the features of phraseological units functioning in the modern Russian speech. We examined the phraseological units from two aspects: we determined the sphere of their functioning based on the material of the National Corpus of the Russian language (Corpus) and examined their existing semantic transformations. The National Corpus of the Russian language makes it possible to check the use of phraseological units over the past 200-300 years, indicating the specific year of usage. With the help of the National Corpus of the Russian language, one can also answer the question in what discourse a phraseological unit is used more often.

We used phraseological units in the narrow sense and referred to the units designating a woman in Russian as the research material.

2. Main Part

2.1. Use of phraseological units

Phraseological units designating a woman in Russian that include the word “woman” and its synonyms attract the attention of many linguists, and they have been studied in different aspects (Bagrintseva, Dosimova 2020; Badmaeva 2010; Dosimova 2015; Mokienko 2012; Morozova 2010; Muryasov 2015 and etc.). This group of phraseological units in Russian is represented by units with vivid image; they serve as means of nomination for women of a certain type:
Designating a Woman in Russian

1. слабый/нежный/прекрасный пол / slabyi / nezhnyi / prekrasnyi pol (a lady, weak / gentle / beautiful female) - a playful name for all women (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka. Pod. red. A. Molotkova);

2. мужик в юбке / muzhik v yubke (like a guy) - a woman performing a man's work, as well as an unattractive, unfeminine one (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo literaturnogo yazyka kontsa XVII-XX v. Pod red. A. Fedorova);

3. кисейная барышня / kiseinaya baryshnya (a timid girl) – a weak, pampered girl, not adapted to life (Telia, V. N. 2018. Bolshoi frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka);

4. базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman) – a loud, rude, quarrelsome woman (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka. Pod. red. A. Molotkova);

5. соломенная вдова / solomennaya vdova (an abandoned wife) – a married woman who, with her husband alive, was temporarily left without his attention (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka. Pod. red. A. Molotkova);

6. христова невеста / khristova nevesta (a nun) - a nun; a girl who took a vow of celibacy (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka. Pod. red. A. Molotkova);

7. старая дева/девка / staraya deva/devka (an old maid) – an unmarried woman of middle age and older (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo literaturnogo yazyka kontsa XVIII-XX v. Pod red. A. Fedorova);

8. дама сердца / dama serdtsa (a sweetheart) – beloved one (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo literaturnogo yazyka kontsa XVIII-XX v. Pod red. A. Fedorova);

9. классная дама / klassnaya dama (a governess) – a teacher in women's secondary educational institutions (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo literaturnogo yazyka kontsa XVIII-XX v. Pod red. A. Fedorova);

10. синий чулок / sinii chyulok (a bluestocking) - a woman devoid of femininity, charm and completely absorbed in bookish, scientific interests (A. Tikhonov, A. Lomov. Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo yazyka);

11. царевна Несмеяна / tsarevna Nesmeyanna (a non-laughing girl) - about a quiet, modest woman (Frazeologicheskyi slovar’ russkogo literaturnogo yazyka);
Phraseological units слабый/нежный/прекрасный пол / slabyi / nezhnyi / prekrasnyi pol (a weak / gentle / beautiful female), базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman), синий чулок / sinii chyulok (a bluestocking), кисейная барышня / kiseinaya baryshnya (a timid girl), царевна Несмеяна / tsarevna Nesmeyanna (a non-laughing girl) are used in relation to females of any age (to a girl, an elderly woman) due to emotionality and their vivid image. The rest of the phraseological units have restrictions on their use, they designate women of reproductive age.

The use of phraseological units of this type in the Russian language can be assessed based on the data of the National Corpus of the Russian language. Introspection, in our opinion, is not a reliable method for determining the level of activity in usage of a particular phraseological unit. Corpus linguistics provides more reliable, statistically supported information.

According to the Corpus, the most frequently used phraseological unit is старая дева / staraya deva (an old maid): there are 270 items in the main subcorpus, 37 items in the newspaper subcorpus and 12 items in the oral speech subcorpus. The synonym старая девка / staraya devka (an old maid) is present only in the main corpus where this phraseological unit is indicated much less – there are 24 items. The use of the phraseological unit старая дева / staraya deva (an old maid) has been noted since 1800, the peak of use falls on 1847 and 1882. The meaning of the phraseological unit has not changed for two centuries, the number of cases of its usage has gradually decreased.

Для той эпохи 22 года — уже почти старая дева [Гелия Делеринс. Слоеный ветер // “Огонек”, 2013];

(For that era, 22 years old is already almost an old maid [Helia Deleins. Sloenyi veter // “Ogonyok”, 2013];)

У них была общая родственница, старая дева [П. А. Вяземский. Старая записная книжка (1830-1870)].

(They had a common relative, an old maid [P. A. Vyazemsky. Staraya zapisnaya knizhka (1830-1870)].)

The phraseological unit старая девка / staraya devka (an old maid) has a tinge of rudeness, its meaning is synonymous to the meaning of the phraseological unit старая дева / staraya deva (an old maid), the peak of use falls on 1844.
Старая девка и от кривого жениха не отказывается... [М. А. Шолохов. Поднятая целина. Книга 2 (1959)].

(An old maid does not reject even a crooked groom ... [M. A. Sholokhov. Podnyataya tselina. Kniga 2 (1959)].)

Классная дама / klassnaya dama (a governess) is in the second place in terms of the use of phraseological units: in the main subcorpus there are 201 items, 13 instances of usage in the newspaper subcorpus and 1 item in the oral speech. Phraseological unit has been used since 1830, the peak of use falls on 1864. In the twentieth century, the use of this phraseological unit decreases, a small peak is observed around 1960. The meaning remains unchanged throughout its usage.

И на следующий день эта новая классная дама стала сверять журнал [Андрей Геласимов. Рахиль // «Октябрь», 2003].

(And the next day, this new governess began to check the school progress reports [Andrey Gelasimov. Rakhil // “Oktyabr”, 2003].)

The third place in terms of usage is taken by the phraseological unit прекрасный пол / prekrasnii pol (a beautiful female, a lady): in the main subcorpus there are 98 items, 60 instances of use in the newspaper subcorpus and 2 items in the oral speech. Its first use was noted in 1816. The peak of the phraseological units usage falls on 1841. In the second half of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the usage of this phraseological unit decreases. Its meaning remained stable for two centuries. Its synonyms are used less frequently: слабый пол / slabyi pol (a weak female, a lady) is listed in the main subcorpus 53 times, there are 164 items in the newspaper and 5 in the oral speech. Нежный пол / nezhnyi pol (a gentle, tender female, a lady) is present in the main subcorpus with 7 cases of usage, 1 item in the newspaper and 0 in the oral speech subcorpus.

Прекрасный пол требует равенства во всём: в одежде, социальном статусе, распределении свободного времени [неизвестный. Победы всухую // “Кот Шрёдингера”, 2016];

(Ladies require equality in everything: in clothes, social status, distribution of free time [neizvestnyi. Pobedy vsukhyu // “Kot Shredingera”, 2016];)

Хотя бы отдаленно понять слабый пол, их внутренний мир и все такое [Александр Снегирев. Черный асфальт, желтые листья // Октябрь, 2014];
(To understand ladies at least a little, their inner world and all that [Alexander Snegirev. Chernyi asphalt, zheltuye list'ya // Oktyabr', 2014];)

Так тут и нежный пол присутствовал? [М. Е. Салтыков-Щедрин. Статьи из «Современника» (1863)].

(So ladies were present here as well? [M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin. Stat’i iz “Sovremennika” (1863)].)

The phraseological unit дама сердца / dama serdtsa (a sweetheart) is in the fourth place. It was listed 67 times in the main subcorpus, 40 times in the newspaper and 4 times in the oral speech. The first use was noted in 1869. The peak of usage was in 1892 and 1983.

Его давным-давно отвергла дама сердца. Вот он ко всем и пристаёт, чтобы не так одиноко было [Ирина Краева. Tim i Dan, ili Taina «Разбитой коленки»: skazochnaya povest’ (2007)].

(His sweetheart rejected him a long time ago. And now he hits on everyone so he would not feel lonely [Irina Kraeva. Tim i Dan, ili Taina “Razbitoi kolenki”: skazochnaya povest’ (2007)].)

The phraseological unit синий чулок / sinii chyulok (a bluestocking) is in the fifth place. There are 53 items in the main subcorpus, 16 items in the newspaper and 3 items in the oral speech subcorpus. The first usage was recorded in 1841. The peak of use falls on 1866, this phraseological unit was actively used in 1908 and in 2002-2008 as well.

Просто так, когда мы только познакомились и я думала, что мы друг другу ну никак не подходим: я, такой синий чулок, и он, такая золотая молодежь [Ольга Сульчинская. От мира до кругозора // “Октябрь”, 2003].

(Just like that, when we first met and I thought that we didn’t match each other in any way: me, such a bluestocking, and him, one of rich kids [Olga Sulchinskaya. Ot mira do krugozora // “Oktyabr’”, 2003].)

The phraseological unit кисейная барышня / kiseinaya baryshnya (a timid girl) is in the sixth place in terms of the use. It has 25 cases of usage in the main subcorpus, 6 items in the newspaper and 0 in the oral speech. The first use was noted in the National Corpus of the Russian language in 1867. The peaks of use were in 1868 and 1914.
The phraseological unit *христова невеста* / *khristova nevesta* (*a nun*) is in the seventh place: there are 21 items in the main subcorpus, 1 in the newspaper and 0 in the oral speech. The peak of usage falls on 1840. The usage of this phraseological unit decreases throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the entire twentieth century.


(I am a nun! - A nun? Sinless, then? [YU. D. Chernichenko. Tselina (1966)].)

The phraseological unit *соломенная вдова* / *solomennaya vdova* (*an abandoned wife*) is in the eighth place: there are 14 cases of usage in the main subcorpus, 0 items in the newspaper and 0 in the oral speech subcorpus. Due to the insufficient representation in the selected subcorpora, we additionally considered the use of this phraseological unit in a parallel subcorpus (2 items) and in a poetic subcorpus (1 item). The first use was noted in 1882, the peak of use falls on 1885, further on its usage decreases.

Она вообще была решительной. Соломенная вдова, директор советской школы. На руках двое детей и еще полшколы в придачу, потому что многие тогда остались без родителей [Екатерина Заверешнева. Бабушка // *Знамя*, 2010]

She was generally determined. Abandoned wife, director of the Soviet school. There are two children in her arms and half of the school to boot, because many of them were left without parents then [Ekaterina Zavershneva. Babushka // "Znamya", 2010]

The ninth place is taken by the phraseological unit *царевна Несмеяна* / *tsarevna Nesmeyanna* (*a non-laughing girl*): there are 8 items in the main subcorpus, 4 items in the newspaper and 0 in the oral speech. The first use was noted in 1962, with the peak in 2009.
Строит из себя недотрогу. Царевна-несмешна ... [Валерий Володин. Повесть временных лет // «Волга», 2009].

She plays hard to get. Such a non-laughher ... [Valery Volodin. Povest’ vremennyh let // “Volga”, 2009].

The phraseological unit мужик в юбке / muzhik v yubke (like a guy) is in the tenth place with 6 cases of usage in the main subcorpus, 6 cases in the newspaper and 0 in the oral speech. The first use in the Corpus was recorded in 1997, the peak of use was in 2002-2005.

Про таких женщин говорят: мужик в юбке [Тихонов Дмитрий. Пашня Пashi Ангелиной // Труд-7, 2003.08.14].

They say about such women: she behaves like a guy [Tikhonov Dmitry. Pashnya Pashi Angelinoi // Trud-7, 2003.08.14].

The last eleventh place is taken by the phraseological unit базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman). This phraseological unit is listed 6 times in the main subcorpus, once in the newspaper and once in the oral speech subcorpus. The first use was recorded in the Corpus in 1959 with the peak of use in 1977.

Хамка, да еще и злобная и базарная баба! [Красота, здоровье, отдых: Красота (форум) (2005)].

Rude, and even a spiteful and loudmouthed woman! [Krasota, zdorov’e, otdykh: Krasota (forum) (2005)].

The analysis of phraseological units designating a woman recorded in the National Corpus of the Russian language allows us to conclude that their speech activity is declining. There are mainly phraseological units that were first noted in the nineteenth century. The appearance of two phraseological units was recorded in the Russian language in the twentieth century: мужик в юбке / muzhik v yubke (like a guy) and базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman), expressing masculine features that are not typical, characteristic of the classical female image. This linguistic fact correlates well with changes in the life of society, with adaptation of the new role for a woman as a specialist equal to a man, with the approval of her new social status. At the same time, the phraseological units мужик в юбке / muzhik v yubke (like a guy) and базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman) have a negative connotation.
caused by the psychological unpreparedness of our collective linguistic consciousness for such changes.

As a rule, the largest number of instances of phraseological units designating a woman is noted in the general subcorpus. The exception is the phraseological unit прекрасный пол / prekrasnyi pol (a lady, a beautiful female) used in the newspaper subcorpus twice as frequently as in the general subcorpus. Phraseological units of this type are much less common in the oral subcorpus.

2.2. Occasional semantic transformations of phraseological units

Transformations of phraseological units are considered from different points of view: there is a phraseological pun, addition of a lexical component, wedging in a lexical component and split use of a phraseological unit, replacement of a lexical component, ellipsis, phraseological repetition, phraseological contamination, extended metaphor, phraseological saturation of the context (Arsenteva 2012). Transformation of a phraseological unit is usually associated with a change in its lexical composition. The semantics of phraseological units, as noted by all researchers, is characterized by stability and rethinking of the meaning of word components (Kunin, Mokienko, Vinogradov). At the same time, the meaning of a phraseological unit, like a word, can be modified, creating the effect of a language game.

The semantic structure of a phraseological unit and the possibility of its transformation are individual for each unit. According to V.M. Mokienko, “Not all phraseological units “provoke” a language game” (Mokienko 2012, p. 107).

A phraseological unit must have certain qualities necessary for development of additional meaning and its use in different contexts. The evaluative component in its meaning should be quite universal within the framework of the national worldview, and at the same time, the image formed by the phraseological unit should be recognizable by native speakers. This combination makes it possible for a phraseological unit to develop new variants of meaning. So, the negative connotation becomes central for the phraseological unit старая дева / девка / staraya deva / devka (an old maid), making it possible to use it as a negative characteristic for any unsociable, unpleasant woman, for example:

(A politician who is too serious is boring like an old maid [Olga Kazanskaya. Chelovek kotoryi smeetsya // “Kar’era”, 2000.02.01].)

The recognizability of the image makes it a benchmark for comparison, for example:

Слишком серьезный политик скучен как старая дева [Ольга Казанская. Человек, который смеется // «Кар’ера», 2000.02.01].

(The transformation of semantics shifts the center of meaning in such a way that attributive meaning becomes the main one, rather than nominative meaning. Such shift makes it possible to use the phraseological unit старая дева / staraya deva (an old maid) in relation to men, for example:

В одно прекрасное утро родилась на мой счёт сплетня (кто её произвёл на свет божий, не знаю: должно быть, какая-нибудь старая дева мужского пола) [И. С. Тургенев. Гамлет Щигровского уезда (1849)];

(One morning a gossip about me was born (I don't know who created it: it must be some male old maid) [I. S. Turgenev. Gamlet Shchigrovskogo yezda (1849)];)

А вы… вы не капитан, а старая дева [К. С. Бадигин. Секрет государственной важности (1974)].
The phraseological unit кисейная барышня / kiseinaya baryshnya (a timid girl) possesses the same vivid image. The expression appeared under the influence of the story written by the Russian writer of the XIX century N. G. Pomyalovsky (1835-1863) “Bourgeois Happiness” (1860). The character of the story, Elena, is a provincial, sentimental, not very smart girl who wears a light muslin dress. In the 60s of the XIX century the combination кисейная барышня / kiseinaya baryshnya (a timid girl) was widely used among democratic youth to express a contemptuous attitude towards rich, superficial and stupid girls. The association with impracticality, physical and spiritual weakness contributed to the appearance of generalized attributiveness meaning in this phraseological unit. It was considered as a standard of effeminacy and used in comparative figures of speech.

Ну и нервозная ж ты, будто кисейная барышня, — пробовал я пристыдить ее [П. Ф. Якубович. В мире отверженных. Том 2 // “Русское богатство”, 1898].

(Well, you are so nervous, such a timid girl, I tried to shame her [P. F. Yakubovich. V mire otrublennykh. Tom 2 // “Russkoe bogatsvo”, 1898].)

Strengthening of the attributive meaning caused elimination of the original meaning of femininity, and the phraseological unit is used for nominating not only women, but also men, for example:

Силаев по натуре не кисейная барышня… [Артем Анфиногенов. А внизу была земля (1982)];

(Silaev is not a timid by nature … [Artem Anfinogenov. A vnizu byla zemlya (1982)];)

Каратист — это не «кисейная барышня», ему свойственно переносить тяготы, проявлять дух аскетизма и большой силы воли [Алексей Яшкин. Питание каратиста // «Боевое искусство планеты», 2003.10.18];

(A karate player is not a shy, timid, he tends to endure hardships, to show the spirit of asceticism and great willpower [Alexey Yashkin. Pitanie karatista // “Boevoe iskustvo planety”, 2003.10.18];)
Упал в обморок, как какая-нибудь слабонервная кисейная барышня
[L. A. Чарская. Мой принц (1915)];

Fainted like some faint-hearted timid girl [L. A. Charskaya. Moi prints (1915)];

The same transformation is observed in the phraseological units классная дама / klassnaya dama (a governess), базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman), синий чулок / sinii chyulok (a bluestocking) to designate men, for example:

Даже на уроках он зорко следил за Анкой, как старорежимная классная дама ... [Симон Соловейчик. Ватага «Семь ветров» (1979)]

(Even in the classroom, he kept an eye on Anka, like an old-fashioned governess ... [Simon Soloveichik. Vataga “Sem’ vetrov” (1979)])

Ваня, я тебя не узнаю... Ты точно классная дама какая-то... Право! А если б кто из твоих товарищей пригласил нас к себе напиться — разве бы ты стал разбирать: женат он или нет? [П. Д. Бобрюкин. Однокурсники (1900)]

(Vanya, I don't recognize you ... You are definitely some kind of governess ... Really! And if one of your comrades invited us to drink some tea with him, would you really start to sort out: is he married or not? [P. D. Boborykin. Odnokursniki (1900)])

Только в вестибюле Данилов пришел в себя. «Что я — базарная баба, что ли?» [Владимир Орлов. Альтист Данилов (1980)].

(Danilov recovered only in the lobby. “What am I - a loudmouthed woman, or what? [Vladimir Orlov. Violinist Danilov (1980)].]

...Я не интересуюсь этим, я – синий чулок, сушеная вобла, хуже того – фанатичный программист, простите за крепкие словечки [Алексей Григорович. Пыльная буря // Волга, 2012].

(... I'm not interested in this, I am a blue stocking, a dried vobla, worse than that, a fanatical programmer, forgive me for the strong words [Alexey Grigorovich. Pylnaya burya // Volga, 2012].)

Greater deviation from the original meaning of the phraseological unit is observed in the following example of the National Corpus of the Russian language:
A настоящая царевна Несмеяна – это лишенные юмора зрители, которые всегда имеются на любом концерте [Леонид Утесов. «Спасибо, сердце!» (1982)].

(And the real non-laugher is the audience devoid of humor, who are always present at any concert [Leonid Utesov. “Spasibo, serdse!” (1982)].)

A phraseological unit serving to designate an unsmiling, tear-prone woman is used in this case to name a group of people - spectators. At the same time, the phraseological unit does not change its grammatical form and is used in the singular.

Desemantization is another type of change in the semantics of phraseological units, a kind of “step back” in semantic derivation. Desemantization is observed when phraseological units базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman) and синий чулок/синие чулки / sinii chyulok / sinie chyulki (a bluestocking) are used in the literal sense.

Все базарные бабы в его собственной стране пророчили войну со дня на день. [Александр Солженицын. В круге первом, т.1, гл. 1-25 (1968) // «Новый Мир», 1990]

(All the women working in the market in his own country prophesied war any day. [Alexander Solzhenitsyn. V kruge pervom, tom 1, gl. 1-25 (1968) // “Novyi Mir”, 1990]

In this example, each component of the word combination базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman) is used in its direct meaning: “women selling in the market”.

Потом все устоявшиеся реалии смешались, я решила, помимо всего прочего, стать феминисткой, сожгла свой лифчик и, будучи человеком литературным, стала носить синие чулки [Катя Метелица. Колготки длиною в жизнь // “Столица”, 1997.07.15]

(Then all the established realities mixed up, I decided, among other things, to become a feminist, burned my bra and, having passion for literature, began to wear blue stockings [Katya Metelitsa. Kolgotki dlinnou v zhizn // “Stolitsa”, 1997.07.15])

The phraseological unit синий чулок / sinii chyulok (a bluestocking) appeared in English in the second half of the 18th century. It appeared in the literary salon of the writer Mary Wortley Montagu. The most active and prominent member of the salon was the scientist Benjamin
Stillingfleet, who wore black clothes and blue stockings. Later, синий чулок / sinii chyulok (“blue stocking”) was applied to women who were interested in literature and science, neglecting home and family. The expression became a generic name in England after the poet George Gordon Byron wrote a satire to Lady Montague’s salon and called it “The Blues.” The expression was brought to Russia through the French language. The fact that in this example it is a transformed phraseological unit, and not a syntactically free combination, is evidenced by the words referring to the meaning of the phraseological phrase: feminist, literary language.

3. Conclusion

The study of the use and transformational semantic potential of phraseological units designating a woman in Russian allowed us to come to the following conclusions. The researched phraseological units are of limited use in the modern Russian language. According to the National Corpus of the Russian Language, most of these phraseological units had a peak in use in the nineteenth century. The phraseological units that appeared in the twentieth century, музик в юбке / muzhik v yubke (like a guy) and базарная баба / bazarnaya baba (a loudmouthed woman) are not frequently used, they are in the last places in the ranking. According to the Corpus, the phraseological units discussed in this chapter are used mainly in written speech: in the works of art and journalism. In oral speech, they are much less common.

In the course of the research, we described the mechanism of occasional semantic transformations of phraseological units with the meaning “woman” and determined the possibilities of their use. As a result, we came to the conclusion that the potential for expanding the meaning of these phraseological units is different.

The ability to acquire attributive meaning and, as a result, to be used in relation to men is typical of phraseological units with the component “woman”, whose image has a vivid national specificity. It should be noted that they characterize men negatively. If the attributive meaning of a phraseological unit receives the status of a stable standard (for example, effeminacy, a bad character, absorption in scientific interests, meticulousness), then such phraseological units are used in comparative speech figure as an object of comparison.

Another possibility of semantic transformation is even more enhanced meaning of the object’s feature, which makes it possible for phraseological units alone to serve as means of designating a group of people.
Finally, we included desemantization into semantic transformation, when a phraseological unit loses its image and idiomaticity and becomes a free phrase, while maintaining a connection with a phraseological unit in the linguistic consciousness.

References

Arsentieva, E. 2006. “Frazeologiya i frazeografiya v sopostavitel’nom aspekte”.


Natsiolanyi korpus russkogo yazyka. URL: https://ruscorpora.ru/new/


Frazeologicheskii slovar’ russkogo literaturnogo yazyka URL: https://phraseology.academic.ru/
It has long been established that the multitude of proverbs of any language can for the most part be grouped into structural patterns and that new proverbs often follow such established models (Taylor 1931, 16-22, Mieder 1975, 62-71, Peukes 1977, 110-142, Lenz 1998, Mellado Blanco 2018, Steyer 2019, Weber 2019). Some of the more common patterns, and certainly not unique to the English language, are “Better X than Y,” “Like Y, like Y,” “No X without Y,” and “If X, then Y” that bring to mind proverbs like “Better alone than in bad company,” “Like father, like son,” “No smoke without fire,” and “If you lie down with dogs, then you’ll get up with fleas.” It should then not be surprising that modern proverbs, i.e., proverbs that were not current before the year 1900, are based on such proverbial types as well. Here are but a few patterns that can be found for the 1422 proverbs listed in The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs (2012) that was edited by Charles Clay Doyle, Wolfgang Mieder, and Fred R. Shapiro (texts are cited with the earliest written source and the page number of the dictionary):

“If you X, you Y”
If you can dream it, you can do it. (1970, 62)
If you (can) make it here, you can make it anywhere. (1959, 155)
If you keep your mouth shut, you won’t put your foot in it. (1915, 174)

“X is (are) better than Y”
Old age is better than the alternative. (1960, 4)
The chase (hunt) is better than the kill. (1904, 36)

1 University of Vermont, USA. Wolfgang.Mieder@uvm.edu
New goods are better than bargains. (1919, 109)

“It’s not X, it’s (but) Y”
It’s not the size of the dog in the fight that matters, it’s the size of the fight in the dog. (1911, 232)
It’s not the crime but the cover-up. (1973, 47)
It’s not the years, it’s the mileage (miles). (1957, 284)

“When you X, (you) X(Y)”
When you pray, move your feet. (1936, 84-85)
When you are in a hole, stop digging. (1911, 122-123)
When you have nothing, you have nothing to lose. (1965, 182)

“Better X than Y”
Better to light a candle than to curse the darkness. (1903, 32-33)
Better to cheat than repeat. (1966, 36-37)
Better Red than dead. (1958, 215; Barrick 1979)

“No X, no Y”
No guts, no glory. (1945, 112-113)
No harm, no foul. (1956, 117)
No victim, no crime. (1971, 268)

“There is no such thing as X”
There is no such thing as a definitive study. (1936, 252-253)
There is no such thing as a free lunch. (1917, 253)
There is no such thing as bad publicity. (1941, 253)

“There are no X, only (just) Y”
There are no bad children, only bad parents. (1910, 38)
There are no bad dogs, only bad owners. (1949, 59)
There are no bad students, just bad teachers. (1958, 242)

“One man’s X, is another man’s Y”
One man’s floor is another man’s ceiling. (1929, 161)
One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter. (1970, 162)
One man’s trash is another man’s treasure. (1924, 162)

Despite these striking examples (Mieder 2020b, 9-13), it must be stated that most modern proverbs are rather straightforward indicative sentences with little formulaic or poetic characteristics. However, those modern proverbs that are based on traditional structures obviously exhibit a familiar appearance right from the start albeit with new contents, metaphors, and messages.
This is also the case with two special types of new proverbs, namely so-called counter-proverbs and anti-proverbs. According to Charles Doyle, who coined the term counter-proverb in 1972,

“a counter-proverb is simply an overt negation or sententious-sounding rebuttal of a proverb, an explicit denial of the proverb’s asserted truth. A counter-proverb does not typically aim for any ironic effect, other than calling into doubt whatever wisdom it is that proverbs are supposed to encapsulate. For example, in the twentieth century we find, with some frequency, ‘One rotten apple does not spoil the whole barrel,’ rebutting the very old proverb ‘One rotten apple will spoil the whole barrel.’ Sometimes [especially when both texts are modern] it is impossible to determine which is the original proverb and which the counter-proverb: ‘Good enough is not good enough’ seems to be about the same age as ‘Good enough is good enough’; the sayings ‘Life is just a bowl of cherries’ and ‘Life is not a bowl of cherries’ are contemporaneous” (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012, xi-xii).

Just as such traditional contrasting proverb pairs as “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” and “Out of sight, out of mind”, these counter-proverb pairs mirror the contradictions of life itself. Since proverbs are not a logical system, such opposing bits of wisdom are perfectly legitimate. But be that as it may, our collection only includes 10 definite counter-proverbs. In the following chronologically arranged list the counter-proverb is cited with the date of its earliest recording but without contextualized references. After that I cite the earlier original proverb on which the new counter-proverb is based. An asterisk * is provided for those cases when both texts of such pairs of proverbs are not any older than the year 1900, thereby indicating that both are modern proverbs:

*Good enough is good enough. (1910, 107-108)
Good enough is not good enough. (1907, 108).

*Any publicity is good publicity. (1925, 208)
Not all publicity is good publicity. (1915, 208-209).

You cannot fight fire with fire. (1917, 77).
Fight fire with fire. (1607, 209).

Proverbs older than the year 1900 are referenced from Wolfgang Mieder, Stewart A. Kingsbury, and Kelsie B. Harder (eds.), A Dictionary of American Proverbs. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. The texts are cited with the earliest written source and the page number of the dictionary.
"Bigger is not always better. (1928, 20).
The bigger the better. (1567, internet search)"

"Life is just a bowl of cherries. (1931, 141-142)
Life is not a bowl of cherries. (1931, 143)."

This proverb pair is of special interest since both the positive and negative texts originated in the same year. It may be assumed that the jovial proverb “Life is (just) a bowl of cherries” from the popular song by Lee Brown might have come first with the second verse going like this:

"Life is just a bowl of cherries.
Don’t take it serious,
Life’s too mysterious.
You work, you save, and you worry so,
But you can’t take your dough when you go, go, go.
So keep repeating it’s the berries,
The strongest oak must fall.
The sweet things in life to you were just loaned,
So how can you lose what you’ve never owned.
Life is just a bowl of cherries,
So live, love, and laugh at all.
(Sobieski and Mieder 2005, 81)"

"Flattery will get you nowhere (1938, 82).
Flattery will get you everywhere. (1926, 81-82).

One rotten apple does not spoil the whole barrel. (1955, 7)
One rotten apple spoils the whole barrel. (1340, 24).

Size doesn’t matter. (1903, 233).

While both proverbs can refer to “size” matters of various types, they are quite often referring the concept that penis size is irrelevant per se to female sexual gratification. Be that as it may, people have crystallized such sexual taboos into proverbs that allow by way of indirectness to comment on such matters without using sexually explicit vocabulary (Mieder 2020b, 244-226).

The plural of anecdote is data. (1980, 202)"
Our collection also includes a considerably larger number of anti-proverbs (Litovkina and Mieder 2006, Litovkina and Lindahl 2007, Litovkina 2015), namely 118. If one adds the 10 counter-proverbs that could be looked at as a special sub-set of anti-proverbs to this number, the 128 texts would make up 9.0% of the total of 1422 modern proverbs registered in our dictionary. This might not seem as a high percentage, but these modern proverbs certainly show that a considerable number of modern proverbs originate as a critical or contradictory reaction to established folk proverbs.

About four decades ago I coined the term anti-proverb in 1977 and subsequently published three volumes of German anti-proverbs between 1982 and 1989 and a fourth one in 2017 (Röhrich and Mieder 1977, 115, Mieder 1982-1989, Mieder 2017), of which many occur as anonymous witticisms or proverbial aphorisms by known authors (Mieder 1999). An anti-proverb is “an allusive distortion, parody, misapplication, or unexpected contextualization of a recognized proverb, usually for comic or satiric effect. Anti-proverbs occur frequently in commercial advertising, on greeting cards, in the captions of cartoons, and as the punch lines of ‘shaggy dog’ jokes. Sometimes they pass into oral tradition as proverbs in their own right: for example, ‘Absence makes the heart go wander’; ‘Beauty is only skin’; ‘No body is perfect’; ‘Do unto other before they can do unto you’; ‘Dynamite comes in small packages’” (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012, xi). By now several anti-proverb collections as well as linguistic studies of such proverb manipulations, also referred to as “postproverbials” (Raji-Oyeldade 2012, Raji-Oyelade and Oyeleye 2019) have appeared in several languages, but they have for the most part ignored the folkloristic importance of anti-proverbs as the source of new folk proverbs. There is no doubt that most anti-proverbs are one-day-wonders in that they will never enter general folk speech by gaining a certain currency and traditionality. Take for example the following anti-proverbs based on the traditional proverb “A stitch in time saves nine” (1732, 564):

A lie in time saves nine. (1908)
A drink in time means nine. (1949)
A stitch in time saves losing your petticoat. (1961)
A stick in time saves nine. (1963)
A stitch in times saves a lot of embarrassment. (1967)
A woman on time is one in nine. (1967)
Chapter Four

These playful and humorous reworkings of this one proverb mirror literally hundreds of such anti-proverbs based on puns and other wordplay (Litovkina, Vargha, Barta, and Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2008), but none of them have become new *bona fide* proverbs!

However, there are at least some anti-proverbs that do express new wisdom or insight, and which have by now been accepted as general proverbs based on traditional proverbial structures. All of this is taking place in the vast area of the mass media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the Internet), enabling such newly formulated wisdom to reach thousands of people who in turn employ such texts orally or in writing to such a degree that they can be considered to be new proverbs (Mieder 2008, 87-91).

One thing is for certain, any proverb has its beginning with an individual or even two or more people as a group who formulate a sentence that expresses a generalization or basic truth. If such a statement has some of the common markers of proverbs such as alliteration, rhyme, parallelism, etc. and perhaps even a metaphor and the same structure, it might have a chance of becoming a proverb. Currency and traditionality are part of a proverb, and so are its polyfunctionality, polysituativity, and polysemanticity (Mieder 2004, 9, 132). In other words, proverbs must be able to serve various purposes, be applicable in various contexts, and take on differentiated meanings. Stephen Winick in his seminal article on “Intertextuality and Innovation in a Definition of the Proverb Genre” (2003) has argued that any created proverb-like statement is in fact already a proverb at its creation without any need of such cultural or folkloristic aspects as dissemination, frequency, currency, traditionality, etc. (Winick 2003, 573, 577). Richard Honeck and Jeffrey Welge who gave their equally intriguing article the provocative title “Creation of Proverbial Wisdom in the Laboratory” (1997) present a similar argument in that proverbs are best looked at “as abstract theoretical mental entities, rather than as familiar, culturally embedded forms” (Honeck and Welge 1997, 207-208). As such, they can be created as proverb-like statements, but at their creation they are at best “baby” proverbs or pseudo-proverbs that still must prove themselves as generalized wisdom to be repeated in numerous contexts with different functions. Such creations might even be considered...
“personal” proverbs, but from a cultural or folkloristic point of view they lack acceptance beyond the individual sphere (Mieder 2015, 41-43).

Of course, some consciously and purposefully created anti-proverbs have become new proverbs, and it is to be applauded that paremiologists and paremiographers in numerous countries are paying more attention to such proverbs of the modern age. Charles Clay Doyle in his seminal article “On ‘New’ Proverbs and the Conservativeness of Proverb Dictionaries” (Doyle 1996) had bemoaned the disappointing fact that so little work was being done on modern proverbs. Tatiana Valdaeva approached the matter a few years later in her short article “Anti-Proverbs or New Proverbs: The Use of English Anti-Proverbs and Their Stylistic Analysis” (Valdaeva 2003). While she deals with the linguistic characteristics of anti-proverbs, she does not really differentiate between anti-proverbs as one-day-wonders and anti-proverbs as new proverbs. Nevertheless, her conclusion deserves to be cited here in full:

Antiproverbs have the same function in everyday speech as traditional proverbs, namely, they are an effective means for bringing a deep meaning in a short phrase. They carry new, up-to-date political, religious and other ideas to people. Besides, these new ideas are more acceptable in our modern life than the old ones expressed in the traditional proverbs. Anti-proverbs, as well as traditional proverbs, are built with the help of many stylistic devices and that also brings them closer to the original proverbs. Thus, we can conclude that at least some anti-proverbs are not ANTI-proverbs, but can be considered to be new communicative phraseological units of the English language alongside with the traditional English proverbs. (Valdaeva 2003, 390)

This paragraph contains the crux of the matter, but it does need some important modification. The first sentence ought to have started by stating that “Some anti-proverbs have …” After all, there are plenty of anti-proverbs that do not contain any “deep meaning” and are rather puns, parodies, and other manipulations for entertainment, satire, or simply the joy of wordplay (Röhrich 1967, Mieder 1989). Those anti-proverbs are what I have called one-day-wonders and they will never become proverbs as such. It might also have been a good idea to rephrase the correct conclusion “that at least some anti-proverbs are not ANTI-proverbs” to read “that some anti-proverbs have become new proverbs with their own dissemination, currency, and traditionality.”

But to make a long story short, Charles Clay Doyle, Fred R. Shapiro, and I have undertaken the laborious but revealing task of identifying the proverbs in our Dictionary of Modern Proverbs (2012) that had their beginnings as anti-proverbs. To establish such developments, considerable
detective work is necessary, but proverb scholars must undertake such investigations if proverb collections should go beyond just repeating the old stand-by proverbs. In other words, we used the Internet to establish the frequent appearance of the text in the mass media as well as literary sources, we paid attention to references that actually refer to the texts as a proverb, saying, adage, etc., or that might have some indicator as “it is often said,” “it is well known,” etc. Also, of course, we relied on our somewhat subjective feelings about the proverbiality of a hitherto not registered text. As paremiological experts we do have to stick out our neck in such decision, if we want to register new or modern proverbs. Having started the proverbial ball rolling, it is rewarding to report that scholars and students in other countries are working on similar projects (Mokienko 2003, Komenda-Earle 2009, Reznikov 2009, Földes and Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2016, Lückert 2018), and Charles Doyle and I have published three supplements to our dictionary in a two-year cycle with the hope to continue them so that in due time we might be able to edit a much larger collection of modern proverbs (Doyle and Mieder, 2016, 2018, 2020).

Here is a good example of what has happened to the old English proverb “Look before you leap” (1350, 384) from the fourteenth century whose popularity has resulted in such anti-proverbs as the following:

*Look before you bite.* (1949)
*Look before you lip.* (1967)
*Look before you heap.* (1988)
*Look before you leak.* (1989)
*Look before you cheat.* (2004)
*Look before you kiss.* (2004)

(Litovkina and Mieder 2006, 204-205)

None of these alterations has become proverbial, but there is one that has made it to a proverbial status: “Look before you leave” (1958, 150). Its earliest reference appeared on a poster urging drivers’ caution in lane changing. By now it has a wide range of applications, urging caution before withdrawing money from a stock market investment, about making certain that nothing could happen at an unattended swimming pool, about ascertaining that no child is left behind in a locked car on a hot day, etc. With its singular phonological change, it does indeed function as a true modern proverb.

Speaking of such minor changes, basically changing but one letter of a word, here are two more new proverbs that originated as obvious anti-proverbs. The first one unfortunately continues the tradition of misogynous proverbs (Schipper 2003), for which Anna Litovkina has assembled an entire book of *Women Through Anti-Proverbs* (2019). Starting as an anti-
proverb to the positive proverb “A woman’s work is never done” (1570, Mieder, Kingsbury, and Harder 1992: 666), the shrewd variation “A woman’s word is never done” (1905, 280) became proverbial in the early twentieth century as an invective against loquacious women. But not to worry, it is also possible for the nineteenth century proverb “A woman’s place is in the home” (1844, 666) with its domesticated and somewhat subservient message to become liberated by the anti-proverb “A woman’s place is any place she wants to be” (1918, 279) that gained in popular frequency as a new proverb once the amendment was passed in 1920 giving women the right to vote.

The second example is somewhat related to feminist issues. It is based on the English proverb “A miss is as good as a mile” (1614, 413). It took only the exchange of the letter “i” in “mile” to an “a” to create the anti-proverb “A miss is as good as a male” (1942, 175) that has become a modern proverb speaking of gender equality. Once the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s came on the scene with Gloria Steinem’s Ms. Magazine, the new proverb also began to circulate in the variant “A ms. is as good as a male.” In this regard it is also of interest to note that the relatively recent proverb “A good man is hard to find” (1918, 157) was changed to the anti-proverb “A good woman is hard to find” (1942, 278) that now is current as an equivalent proverb for gender equality. Just as ingenious was the creation of the anti-proverb “No body is perfect” (1958, 23) as a slogan for a brassiere advertisement. Everybody obviously knew the proverb “Nobody is perfect” (1763, 431) and recognized the slight spelling change of “nobody” into two words. The altered traditional proverb could quickly become a new proverb in that it addresses the anxieties about “body image” affecting especially young women. Related to this is yet another fascinating preoccupation with the proverb “Beauty is only skin deep” (1616, 41) that has occupied people’s concern about bodily appearance at least since the early seventeenth century. Anna Litovkina and I have assembled close to three dozen anti-proverbs that often expand on the original text in our large anti-proverb collection Old Proverbs Never Die, They Just Diversify (2006), among them:

- Beauty skins deep. (1943)
- Beauty: Only skin. (1964)
- Beauty is only skin deep, but the impression it makes is not. (1968)
- Beauty is only fur deep. (1989)
- Beauty is only skin deep – ask any plastic surgeon! (1990)
- Beauty is only skin deep, but ugly goes clean to the bone. (1990)
- Suntan is only skin deep. (2004)

(Litovkina and Mieder 2006, 101-102)
Who then could possibly be surprised that the following comment by a seemingly homely twelve-year-old girl at a summer camp in 1963 caught on and made the jump from an anti-proverb to a frequently cited modern proverb: “After all, beauty is only skin. Be a beautiful person, and don’t worry so much about how you look!” (1963, 17). All that it took was the drop of an adjective to render an old proverbial piece of wisdom into a revealing new insight.

Much has been written by linguists in particular about the stylistic characteristics of anti-proverbs, among them the replacing of a single word, substitution of two or more words, changing the second part of the proverb, adding new words, adding literal interpretations, repeating identical or phonetically similar words, and mixing two or more proverbs (Litovkina 2004, 2007 for Anglo-American texts, Litovkina, Vargha, Barta, and Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2007 for Anglo-American, German, French, Russian, and Hungarian anti-proverbs). Punning or wordplay in general are part of this innovative linguistic game that can lead to humorous or satirical anti-proverbs without the claim of actual proverbiality (Grésillon and Maingueneau 1984 for French and German texts, Hrisztova-Gotthardt, Barta, Litovkina, and Vargha 2009 for German, Hungarian, English, Frech, and Russian anti-proverbs, Litovkina 2009a-b for Anglo-American texts). These studies represent invaluable insights into the semantic, structural and linguistic aspects of anti-proverbs, showing that these innovative manipulations with traditional proverbs appear in many cultures and languages (Lourenço 2000, Walter and Mokienko 2005, Simeonova 2009, Otashevic 2011, Reznikov 2012). But while they address the question of how a proverb becomes an anti-proverb, they neglect the equally important fact that some anti-proverbs have and can become new proverbs in their own right (Mieder 2006b). Whatever linguistic characteristics such innovative texts might have, they become actual proverbs only by being widely disseminated, frequently cited in oral and written communications, and containing apparent truths or wisdom that is applicable to a variety of contexts. This is certainly the case with those anti-proverbs turned proverbs that were created by merely exchanging one word. The following chronologically arranged examples first cite the new proverb followed by the traditional proverb for comparison. Those proverb pairs in which both texts stem from after the year 1900 are once again marked by an asterisk:

*A penny spent is a penny earned. (1901, 193)*
*A penny saved is a penny earned. (1640, 458)*
**Home is where the mortgage is.** (1904, 123)
**Home is where the heart is.** (1870, 304)

**Absence makes the heart go wander.** (1908, 1)
**Absence makes the heart grow fonder.** (1755, 3)

**There is no future like the present.** (1909, 90)
**There is no time like the present.** (1562, 598)

**There are two sides to every pancake.** (1915, 230-231)
**There are two sides to every argument.** (1742, 539-540)

**The rich get richer and the poor get children.** (1920, 217)
**The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.** (1843, Mieder 2019, 235-239)

This nineteenth-century American proverb deals with the growing gap between the rich and the poor that is destroying the solid middle class. It expresses in a concise and oppositional way that America is splitting itself into two extreme halves. The proverb was popularized by way of its appearance in Gus Kahn’s song “Ain’t We Got Fun” (1920):

\[
\text{There’s nothing surer,} \\
\text{The rich get richer and the poor get poorer,} \\
\text{In the meantime, in between time,} \\
\text{Ain’t we got fun.}
\]

The song also includes the anti-proverb “The rich get richer and the poor get (have) children” (1920, 217) as a humorous variant that has gained currency, but certainly not always as a light-hearted comment on social issues (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992, 508). As a two-time presidential candidate, Bernie Sanders, US Senator from Vermont, has made the original proverb his political *leitmotif* by citing it numerous times in his speeches and books (Mieder 2019, 235-240). As a democratic socialist with a strong socio-economic agenda, he paints his attacks on the wealthy with a very wide brush and borders on being somewhat unfair to those wealthy people who are not driven by greed alone and who are responsible citizens committed to social improvements by word and deed. Sanders knows that, and he usually singles the billionaires Warren Buffet and Bill Gates out as representatives of philanthropically-minded rich people. But no matter what, there is also this modern American proverbial wisdom: “Rich or poor, it’s good to have money” (1949, 170). (Mieder 2020b, 174-175)
You’re only old once. (1927, 183-184)
You’re only young once. (1804, internet search)

Children should be seen and not had. (1928, 38)
Children should be seen and not heard. (1400, 97)

Dynamite comes in small packages. (1937, 64)
Good things come in small packages. (1845, internet search)

No good deed goes unpunished. (1938, 52)
No bad (evil) deed goes unpunished. (1866, internet search)

All animals are created equal. (1945, 6)
All men are created equal. (1776, 398)

The modern proverb started as a literary quotation from George Orwell’s famous novel Animal Farm (1945): “All animals are created equal, but some are more equal than others.” It began as an anti-proverb to the well-known proverb “All men are created equal” from the American “Declaration of Independence” (1776) that had been expanded to “All men and women are created equal” by the early American feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1848. What this new proverb expresses is, of course, that in the animal world and by extension the human world, nobody is really equal with some having more opportunities and a better life than others. This new proverb is thus a correct summation of modern existence with its unfair social inequalities. (Mieder 2020b, 188-189)

Don’t believe everything you think. (1948, 19)
Don’t believe everything you hear. (1205, 46)

It takes two to tango. (1952, 266)
It takes two to quarrel. (1706, 493)

The anti-proverb entered oral and written tradition from the refrain of the song “It Takes two to Tango” by Al Hoffman (lyricist) and Dick Manning (composer). It was popularized by the famous African American singer Pearl Bailey:

Takes two to tango, two to tango,
Two to really get the feeling of romance.
Let’s do the tango, do the tango,
Do the dance of love.
(Sobieski and Mieder 2005, 145)
Take the bull (life) by the balls. (1954, 28-29)
Take the bull by the horns. (1696, internet search)

Since modern proverbs do not shy away from scatological or sexual aspects, a text like this should not be a surprise as a somewhat risqué metaphor for making the most out of one’s life. The proverb had its start as an anti-proverb of the older innocuous proverb “Take the bull by the horns” and its variant “Take life by the horns”. The exchange of “horns” with “balls” adds an emotional touch of aggression, even though most speakers will not necessarily think of the balls as testicles when employing this proverb.

*Death is nature’s way of telling you to slow down. (1960, 52)
Pain is nature’s way of telling you to slow down. (1920, 187-188)

Anything worth doing is worth overdoing. (1962, 283)
Anything worth doing is worth doing well. (1746, 163)

Expedience is the best teacher. (1966, 70)
Experience is the best teacher. (1719, 189)

A friend with weed is a friend indeed. (1968, 86)
A friend in need is a friend indeed. (1275, 233)

What you don’t owe won’t hurt you. (1968, 186)
What you don’t know won’t hurt you. (1576, 352-353)

*Small is beautiful. (1971, 234)
Big is beautiful. (1927, 20)

*A messy desk is a sign of a messy mind. (1974, 53)
A messy desk is a sign of intelligence. (1973, 53)

*Survival is the best revenge. (1980, 247)
Success is the best revenge. (1974, 245)

*Don’t get mad, get ahead. (1986, 95)
Don’t get mad, get even. (1956, 95)

*Life is a beach. (1986, Doyle and Mieder 2020: 71)
Life is a bitch. (1940, 141)

*You booze, you lose. (1986, 24)
You snooze, you lose. (1950, 236)
*Drinking and thinking do not mix.* (1992, 63)
*Drinking and driving do not mix.* (1928, 63)

*Every man to his own poison.* (1992, 156-157)
*Every man to his own taste.* (1580, 399)

*Stupidity is its own reward.* (1992, Doyle and Mieder 2016: 116)
*Virtue is its own reward.* (1509, 634)

*Better late than pregnant.* (1995, 137)
*Better late than never.* (1200, 360-361)

As can be seen from those textual pairs that have been marked by an asterisk, some twentieth-century proverbs have resulted in anti-proverbs that have become new proverbs relatively quickly due to the technological advances that spread innovative texts far and wide. There is even this fascinating triad: First there was the new proverb “It’s not easy being hard” (1913, 65-66) referring to having to make difficult or painful decisions. Next followed the anti-proverb “It’s not easy to be green” (1970, 65) that entered oral tradition from a song by Joe Raposo, sung by the character Kermit the Frog of the Muppets. The new proverb laments the pain of being “different” – perhaps including differences in color or race. Eventually it became a statement for the difficulty of efforts to save the environment and perhaps to other kinds of figurative “greenness.” Another twelve years later appeared “It’s not easy to be easy” (1982, 65) as an anti-proverb referring to the difficulty of making a performance (such as an athletic feat) look easy. All three texts continue to be current as true modern proverbs with frequent appearances in various social contexts.

There is also a group of modern proverbs that started as anti-proverbs following a traditional proverb structure but exchanging two significant words, to wit the following texts:

*A dollar in the bank is worth two in the hand.* (1904, 59)
*A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.* (1450, 51)

*You cannot use your friends and have them too.* (1954, 88)
*You cannot have your cake and eat it too.* (1546, 79)

*You catch it, you clean it.* (1962, 36)
*You break it, you buy it.* (1952, 27)

*If you’re not part of the steamroller, you’re part of the road.* (1987, 190)
*If you’re not part of the solution, you’re part of the problem.* (1937, 190)
“A Miss is as Good as a Male”
75

A rolling loan gathers no loss. (1984, 149)
A rolling stone gathers no moss. (1377, 565)

Matters can get rather complex as can be seen from the following example: First there is the modern proverb “A man without a woman is like a fish without a tail” (1909, 159) that indicates in a positive way how much men need women. The proverb may represent a collapsing of two lines in the old song “A Man without a Woman”: “An Association without an object / Is like a ship without a sail, / A boat without a rudder, / Or a fish without a tail.” But following that basic structure and reversing “man” and “woman”, a new proverb was created that became a feminist slogan known in a number of foreign languages (Mieder 2015b, 247): “A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle” (1976, 279). The proverb perhaps originated as an anti-proverb patterned after “A woman without a man is like a handle without a pan.” The feminist Gloria Steinem disclaimed credit for originating the feminist expression, and it has now been established that Irina Dunn, a distinguished Australian educator, journalist and politician, coined the phrase back in 1970. The image of a fish without (or not needing) a bicycle has had a life of its own, to wit two additional modern proverbs: ‘A man without a woman is like a fish without a bicycle” (1983, 159) and “A man without faith is like a fish without a bicycle” (1958, 160). With such preoccupation with the ridiculous imagery of a fish riding a bicycle, it comes as no surprise that Jack Prelutsky came up with his humorous poem “My Fish Can Ride a Bicycle” (1990):

My fish can ride a bicycle,
my fish can climb a tree,
my fish enjoys a glass of milk,
my fish takes naps with me.

My fish can play the clarinet,
my fish can bounce a ball,
my fish is not like other fish,
my fish can’t swim at all.
(Prelutsky 1990: 146)

And here is yet another variant that has gained enough currency and distribution to be considered a proverb in its own right. Of course, this proverb emphasizes the freedom of emancipated modern women who are perfectly capable of handling their affairs without men: “A woman without a man is like a fish without a net” (1993, 280). Clearly the proverb derives
from “A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle” but now with the meaning of a man being not just an absurd irrelevancy to a woman but an actual impediment to her success or happiness, even a danger to her. To a certain extent these proverbs are based on somewhat of a wordplay since one does not normally talk about fish and bicycles in the same sentence (Mieder 2020b, 189-191).

Another group of modern proverbs that started off as anti-proverbs is characterized by crisscrossing two significant words of the traditional proverb and creating a totally different message:

*Don’t judge yourself by others. (1909, 130-131)
Don’t judge others by yourself. (1866, internet search)

*Do good by doing well. (1973, 107)
Do well by doing good. (1963, 107)

*The political is personal. (1975, 202)
The personal is political. (1970, 196)

*No sex is better than bad sex. (1984, 226)
Bad sex is better than no sex. (1969, 226)

*Don’t hate the game, hate the player. (2004, Doyle and Mieder 2020, 63-64)
Don’t hate the player, hate the game. (1992, 201)

The second to the last modern proverb pair can serve as an example that proverbs deal with all aspects of life, and they certainly have always commented on erotic or vulgar matters. It should then not be surprising that in the modern age with its much greater openness towards and awareness of sexuality, new proverbs with at times rather suggestive or offensive content have gained currency. These proverbs, whether as literal or figurative texts, are observations and generalizations about modern existence couched in sexual or scatological language as I have shown in much detail in my study on “‘Love Is Just a Four-Letter Word”: Sexuality and Scatology in Modern American Proverbs” (Mieder 2020b: 215-244).

But here are two more textual pairs in which the anti-proverb turned modern proverb is based on crossing words, substitutions, and homonyms:

Money is thicker than blood. (1904, Doyle and Mieder 2016, 108-109)
Blood is thicker than water. (1412, 57)

Time wounds all heels. (1938, 259)
Time heals all wounds. (1374, 598)
It is indeed remarkable how such punning creations based on old proverbs can appear first as anti-proverbs and then get accepted as new insights fit for use in the complexities of the modern age (Mieder 2006a). There is no doubt that while hundreds of traditional proverbs remain in frequent use, it is also true that my invented anti-proverb “Different proverbs for different times”, based on the modern proverb “Different strokes for different folks” (1945, 241-242) will not become a proverb in its own right!

There are also a few anti-proverbs that simply add a word and thereby change their basic meaning. If that innovation catches on, the new text might well become a well-known proverb. This is the case with these two examples:

*Courtesy pays dividends.* (1922, 46)
*Courtesy pays.* (1892, *internet search*)

*Never say die – say damn!* (1922, 55)
*Never say die.* (1814, 428)

At times the second half of a traditional folk proverb is changed that renders it into an anti-proverb with a unique new meaning. And again, if it is disseminated and understood as a general piece of wisdom or advice, it might well become a new proverb. This is certainly true for the following modern proverbs:

*People who live in glass houses should wear clothes.* (1904, 194)
*People who live in glass houses shouldn’t throw stones.* (1640, 252-253)

*Do unto others before they (can) do unto you.* (1915, 57)
*Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.* (1901, 154-155)
(Matthew 7, 12, Mieder 2020a)

*A woman’s place is any place she wants to be.* (1918, 279)
*A woman’s place is in the home.* (1844, 666)

*Don’t burn your bridges in front of you (before you get to them)* (1917, 27)
*Don’t burn your bridges behind you* (1913, 71)

*If at first you don’t succeed, try reading the instructions.* (1962, 129)
*If at first you don’t succeed, try, try again.* (1838, 570)

*Love thy neighbor, but don’t get caught.* (1967, 177)
*Love thy neighbor as thyself.* (1578, 427)
(Matthew 5:14)
It is of interest to note that two of the modern proverbs are twists of positive proverbs from the Bible. The first expresses the rather selfish and aggressive attitudes in social behavior, while the second text comments ironically on extra-marital relationships that have increased in more promiscuous times (Litovkina and Mieder 2019).

There are numerous new proverbs that started as anti-proverbs by adding an “and” clause to the traditional proverb that puts its wisdom or apparent truth into question. One might well use these proverbs as a disagreeing rejoinder or as an explanatory comment to someone having stated the traditional proverb. In the case of the first modern proverb it is known that President Theodore Roosevelt coined it during his Third Annual Message to Congress on December 7, 1903 (Shapiro 2006, 648):

No man is above the law, and no man is below it. (1903, 161)
No man is above the law (1867, Shapiro 2006, 648)

Things are not what they used to be – and they never were. (1912, 255)
Things are not what they used to be” (1857, internet search)

Anything can happen and probably will. (1926, 116)
Anything can happen. (1817, internet search)

There must be pioneers, and some of them get killed. (1928, 198)
There must be pioneers. (1804, internet search)

Crime doesn’t pay and neither does farming. (1975, 46)
Crime doesn’t pay. (1874, Shapiro 2006: 610)

*Don’t sweat the small stuff – and it’s all small stuff. (1979, 242-243)
Don’t sweat the small stuff. (1960, 242)

*Men are only good for one thing – and sometimes they aren’t even good for that. (1994, 157-158)
Men are only good for one thing. (1954, 157)

The last text shows that women have come up with proverbs that touch males where it hurts, i.e., questioning their masculinity and ability to do much of anything well. It barely requires Sigmund Freud to realize that men are barely good enough for the sexual act as far as women are concerned. That is indeed a great example for proverbial indirection where the issue at hand is not really mentioned but everybody knows what is
being said. This proverb is most likely used by women among women ridiculing men and having some good sexually implied fun with it. This can be seen in this reference from *The Age [Melbourne, Australia]* of August 29, 1994: “‘You know girls, men are only good for one thing,’ said Sandy ‘Pepa’ Denton. (Much whooping from the crowd.) ‘And sometimes they’re not even good for that’” (Mieder 2020b, 222-223).

There are even cases where one modern proverb has led to two anti-proverbs that in turn have become new proverbs, certainly yet another example for the speed in which recently created proverbial statements can be disseminated and generally accepted:

*Life is a bitch, and then you marry one* (1987, 141)
*Life is a bitch, and then you die* (1982, 141)
*Life is a bitch* (1940, 141)

It is important here to notice that while “bitch” has the basic meaning of “bad” in the two proverbs from 1940 and 1982, it connotes a “nasty woman” in the misogynous third proverb from 1987.

And here is another triad to show how one and the same relatively new proverb could generate two anti-proverbs that have become current modern proverbs:

*Act your age, not your IQ.* (1995, 3)
*Act your age, not your shoe size.* (1967, 3)
*Act your age* (1925, 3)

It should not come as a surprise that such additions to standard proverbs get linked by “but” or “except” that are clear linguistic signs that the message of the traditional proverb is put into questions. While these folk proverbs continue to be cited, their anti-proverbs turned modern proverbs are also employed with considerable frequency as counter observations:

*Close doesn’t count except in horseshoes.* (1914, 41)
*Close doesn’t count.* (1905, internet search)

One ought to try everything once except incest and folk dancing. (1943, 128)
You should try everything once. (1878, internet search)

Beauty may open doors but only virtue enters. (2000, 17)
Beauty opens locked doors. (1882, internet search)
But here is a specially interesting case: For most people mice in the house would be an unpleasant intrusion to be dealt with by way of handy mousetraps. Since catching mice is a rather common phenomenon, it is no wonder that there are two modern proverbs of relatively recent coinage. One might have thought that they would be a little older:

*There’s always free cheese in a mousetrap.* (1962, 37)
*The second mouse gets the cheese.* (1997, 173)

The second proverb is often cited as a rejoinder to the old English proverb “The early bird catches the worm” (1636, 52): “The early bird catches the worm, but the second mouse gets the cheese.” Thus the “mouse”-proverb might well be thought of as an anti-proverb responding to the “bird-proverb,” but it does, of course, also have a life of its own (Mieder 2020b: 204).

Such elaborate reactions to well-known proverbs are not always linked by a verbal connector. Often the counter argument is simply added with the claim of expressing the true nature of things. The second example in the following list refers to the (over)emphasis of being good or even perfect, as can be seen to a large degree also in the American fascination if not obsession with sports and the desire to win that comes with it. It is of considerable interest that while the proverb “Winning isn’t everything” was coined on February 11, 1912 by President Theodore Roosevelt, its anti-proverb “Winning isn’t everything, it’s the only thing” came about in mid-century as a reflection of the American culture wanting to be first wherever possible:

*Time flies when you’re having fun.* (1939, 259)
*Time flies.* (1386, 598)

*Winning isn’t everything, it’s the only thing.* (1950, 278)
*Winning isn’t everything.* (1912, 277-278)

*Money talks, bullshit walks* (1969, 169)
*Money talks.* (1666, 417)

*Life is a garden: dig it.* (1972, 142)
*Life is a garden.* (1914, 142)

*Life is a shit sandwich: the more bread you have, the less shit you eat.* (1978, 143)
*Life is a shit sandwich.* (1966, 143)

*The word “bread” has the punning sense of “money.”*
The well-known proverb “Old soldiers never die, they simply fade away” (1916, 236) is of particular interest. It appeared first in a British soldier song from World War I that later became attached to the American general Douglas MacArthur, who had cited it in his farewell address to the Congress of the United States in 1951. It has been parodied innumerable times by replacing “soldiers” with other professionals and adding appropriate punning conclusions. In fact, Anna T. Litovkina and I have claimed in our collection of anti-proverbs that this proverb might well be the one for which the most anti-proverbs have been registered, among them:

- Old accountants never die, they just lose their balance. (1965)
- Old brick layers never die, they just throw in the towel. (1987)
- Old cows never die, they just kick the bucket. (1983)
- Old farmers never die, they just go to seed. (1987)
- Old female lawyers never die, they just lose their appeals. (1997)
- Old golfers never die, they just lose their balls. (2004)
- Old hippies never die, they just take a trip. (1992)
- Old mailmen never die, they just lose their zip. (1982)
- Old physicians never die, they just lose their patients. (1997)
- Old politicians never die, they just run once too often. (1980)
- Old professors never die, they just lose their faculties. (1965)
- Old quarterbacks never die, they just pass away. (1987)
- Old rugby players never die, they simply have their balls taken away. (1985)
- Old salesmen never die, they just get out of commission. (1980)
- Old teachers never die, they just grade away. (1982)

(Litovkina and Mieder 2006, 244-248)

Ad infinitum! Of course, there are also anti-proverbs that maintain the first part of the proverb and then add various endings to it:

- Old soldiers never die, they go on TV. (2003)
- Old soldiers never die, they just run for political office. (1996)
- Old soldiers never die, they just keep on arguing. (1957)

(Litovkina and Mieder 2006, 247-248)

These parodies are one-day-wonders as anti-proverbs with humorous, ironic, or satirical intent. But there are also two mini-poems by Raymond Souster, both of them unique in their wording. It is astonishing how many
mutations one can create on the second part of such a well-known proverb without repeating previous alterations:

*Old Soldiers (1977)*
*Old soldiers never die –*
*they live on to send their sons off*
*to other wars.*

*Old soldiers (1979)*
*Old soldiers never die,*
*never, that is,*
*as long as their livers*
*can float them home*
*from Legion halls.*
*(Sobieski and Mieder 2005, 214)*

The sad part in these poetic anti-proverbs is that Souster has no humorous message in mind with them, showing that the play with traditional proverbs can take on rather serious meanings, as sending young people off to war or veterans falling prey to alcoholism after they return from war (Mieder 2014: 243-244 and 305-306). In any case, none of the anti-proverbs cited here have gained a proverbial status, but to be sure, there is one anti-proverb that has achieved true proverbiality – unfortunately it is only too true:

*Old soldiers never die; young ones do (1951, 236-237)*
*Old soldiers never die, they just fade away. (1916, 236)*

*Old soldiers never die; young ones do (1951, 236-237)*
*Old soldiers never die, they just fade away. (1916, 236)*

There are, however, also modern proverbs where it might not be so obvious that they have their origin as anti-proverbs of considerably older proverbs. Thus, the modern proverb “If you can’t ride two horses at once, you shouldn’t be in the circus” (1935, 125) might have originated as an anti-proverb of “No one can ride two horses except in a circus” (1913, internet search) which in turn might have been an anti-proverb of the much older “You can’t ride two horses at once” (1863, internet search). While the first two proverbs speak of an impossible task that at best could be handled by a rider straddling two trained circus horses running parallel to each other, the third proverb carries the meaning that if someone cannot work on two issues at the same time it would be best to get out of the required task. Also, the modern proverb “Don’t (try) to make something out of nothing” (1907, 179) might well have started as an anti-proverb of “From nothing, nothing is made” (1380, 432). And at times an older short proverb like “Shoot (Aim) for the stars” (1893, internet search) might
reappear in a much lengthened anti-proverb that due to its added metaphor has become a popular modern proverb: “If you shoot (aim) for the stars, maybe at least you will hit the moon” (1955, 239).

Somewhat related to counter-proverbs and anti-proverbs are what can be called reincarnations of older proverbs, i.e., modern proverbs based on the general wording, metaphor (if there is one), and meaning of an older proverb. Such pairs of texts may coexist, of course, but usually the more modern one will win out in the struggle for dominance. Here are a few examples of this phenomenon:

You never get a second chance to make a first impression. (1952, 36)
First impressions are lasting. (1700, 328)

The older the fiddle, the finer the tune. (1909, 76-77)
There’s many a good tune played on an old fiddle. (1898, 619)

Only dead fish go with the flow. (1989, 79)
A dead fish can float downstream, but it takes a live one to swim upstream. (1883, 211)

The modern variant (among other implications) satirizes – and sometimes retorts to – the proverbial advice “Go with the flow” (1962, 82)

Nobody ever said life is easy. (1965, 146).
Life is not meant to be easy. (1885, internet search)

A good man is hard to find. (1918, 157)
Good men are scarce. (1870, internet search)

But finally then, there are also a number of modern proverbs that started as anti-proverbs which blended older proverbs and proverbial expressions. Thus the new proverb “A closed mouth gathers no feet” (1956, 173) originated by blending the two proverbs “A closed mouth catches no flies” (1599, 420) and “A rolling stone gathers no moss” (1377, 565) and the proverbial expression “to put one’s foot in one’s mouth” (1910, Wilson 1970: 599). Another example would be the modern scatological proverb “Shit happens” (1978, 228) that was a more direct variant of the euphemistic “Stuff happens” (1944, 228) that gained notoriety in the 1980s when its appearance on bumper stickers actually caused arrests. But this proverb was blended with the modern proverb “Life is a bitch, and then you die” (1982, 141) into the anti-proverb “Shit happens, and then you die” (1991, 228-229) that has gained considerable acceptance in oral and written communication. And here is a third example
of such innovative blending that can serve as a fitting conclusion to these deliberations. The new proverb “History does not repeat itself, but it rhymes” (1970, 121) is based on Mark Twain’s proverbial epigram “The past does not repeat itself, but it rhymes” (1874, internet search) which in turn was most likely a play with the old proverb “History repeats itself” (1553, 302). There is no doubt that the future will have plenty new proverbs in store that will reflect modern times and changed worldviews. Some of them will most certainly have their start as anti-proverbs countering older wisdom. This historical process is nothing new and will repeat itself again and again as it creates new proverbs based on old patterns. Whatever they might express, proverbs as such, even in the modern age, are never out of season (Mieder 1993) and will be constant companions in human communication throughout the world.

References


Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont; Veszprém: The Pannonian University of Veszprém.


PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS
IN DIFFERENT GENRES
Chapter Five

Phraseological Units in Online Comments to *The Guardian* and *The Sun*

Albina Kayumova¹, Natalia Konopleva², Gulshat Safiullina³

1. Introduction

Phraseology is definitely a bright, unusual and culturally significant component of the language. Much attention is regularly paid to the use of phraseological units in literary and journalistic texts, where the authors masterfully use all the richness of phraseology, often resorting to language play, deliberately transforming phraseological units in order to create a particular stylistic effect (Kayumova 2017; Sajutina 2011; Gusejnova 1997; Medvedev 2007). However, less attention is paid to the description of the use of phraseology in oral speech, specifically in the speech of ordinary native speakers (Golovina 2003; Husnutdinov, Husnutdinova 2011).

The novelty of this work, firstly, consists in the study of the transformations of phraseological units in a relatively novel variety of speech – oral-written speech – graphically recorded oral speech of ordinary native speakers. This intermediate form of speech arose due to the emergence and development of the Internet communication (in chats, blogosphere, forums, etc.) (Kutyrkina 2011; Lutovinova 2008). Secondly, the study was conducted on a new material, namely, an online comment to an electronic newspaper.

An electronic newspaper is a new generation of mass media, where the reader has an opportunity to react as quickly as possible to a particular news item, to express their opinion, for example, via an online comment.

¹ Kazan Federal University, Russia, alb1980@yandex.ru
² Kazan Federal University, Russia, natali.konopleva@mail.ru
³ Kazan Federal University, Russia, safiullina_gulshat@mail.ru
The online comment (or the Internet comment) has been studied in the works of such linguists as V.A. Mityagina (2012), I.G. Sidorova (2014), T.I. Steksova (2014), etc. However, these authors focus on the generic peculiarities of the online comment as a whole, and distinguish its differential features. The phraseological component of the online comment remains unexplored. Nevertheless, in our opinion, such features of the Internet comment as emotionality and spontaneity make it possible to assume that the authors of comments can (with a high degree of probability) resort to the use of phraseological units, since the latter are mostly representatives of emotionally expressive vocabulary, they can be quickly reproduced in a ready-made form, expressing somebody’s opinion concisely and with feeling.

In connection with the above, we aim to find out:

1. how often native speakers use phraseological units in online comments;
2. whether native speakers use phraseological units in their traditional (customary) or transformed (occasional) form.

It is worth mentioning that phraseological units often do not exist in context in an isolated form (fixed in dictionaries); they are modified. They may change their meaning and/or connotation, and they may enter into all the variety of connections with the context, including associative ones.

In this regard, we note two terms that were first introduced into linguistics use by A.V. Kunin (1996): “common (or core) usage” and “occasional (or instantial) usage” of phraseological units in context.

Under the core use of phraseological units, we consider the implementation of phraseological units in context without any deviation from their usual use in the form in which they are fixed in dictionaries.

Occasional use of phraseological units refers to the implementation of phraseological units with changes in the semantics or structure of a phraseological unit with a specific stylistic purpose.

A deviation from the usual form of a phraseological unit is considered as a transformation (or modification). Currently, there are several classifications of transformations (e.g. Shadrin 1991; Ferando 1996; Moon 1998; Naciscione 2001; Arsenteva 2009); different scientists study a similar set of phenomena, each giving them their own name and combining them into groups. In order to avoid confusion in terminology, we will adhere to the classification of transformations by E.F. Arsenteva (2009), who tried to combine different points of view and identified the following types of contextual transformations:
• replacement of a component/components;
• insertion of a component/components;
• cleft use;
• addition of a variable component/components;
• ellipsis (and allusion, as a variant of it);
• phraseological reiteration;
• extended metaphor;
• phraseological saturation of the text;
• phraseological pun.

In general, all types of transformations can be divided into three main groups:

1. Transformations that change the content form of phraseological units, but do not affect their structure. These include phraseological pun and rare violations of stylistic distribution.
2. Transformations that change the structure of phraseological units and thereby introduce changes in their content. These include replacement of a component/components, insertion, cleft use, ellipsis, and addition of a component/components.
3. Complex transformations such as extended metaphor, phraseological reiteration, and phraseological saturation of the context.

2. Main Part

2.1. Materials and methods

The primary material for the study comprised 500 online comments written by readers of the electronic newspapers The Guardian (https://www.theguardian.com/uk) and The Sun (https://www.thesun.co.uk). 185 comments containing phraseological units were selected from the primary material by the method of continuous sampling. These online comments were subjected to a detailed contextual analysis; examples of the core and occasional use of phraseological units were analyzed using a qualitative and quantitative methods of data processing.

By extracting 185 Internet comments containing phraseological units from the primary database, we were able to immediately answer the first question of our study about the frequency of use of phraseological units in online comments. In our opinion, the use of phraseological units in online comments is seen as frequent. Comments containing phraseological units make up about 37% of the total number of comments. The percentage is
quite high, especially considering the fact that some of the comments are
tense or represent a nonverbal expression of thought (smiley face, etc.). In
the texts of other genres of newspaper-journalistic style, the frequency of
use of phraseological units is lower (e.g. Sajutina 2011; Zelenov 2009;
Gataullina, Salieva, Aslanova 2017).

2.2 Core use of phraseological units

Let's turn to the examples of the core use of phraseological units,
selected from online comments to electronic articles.

*I used to be a member at Essex a few decades back. I knew where I was
with the various competitions. *Can't make head nor tail of* them now...now
they want to confuse me even further. Thanks but no*¹

The phraseological unit “can’t make head nor tail of smth”
(“absolutely not to understand what is what”) is used in the dictionary
form without any changes in the structure or content; therefore, it is the
core use of a phraseological unit.

It's not all just about "YOU"...some people might like the story, some
people will like the story. *Bite your tongue*, please. Probably the Sun will
apologize to you if you write to them and complain that you don't like it
and don't care about it. Hey, they might even ask you "What stories would
you like us to publish, just for you Sir?"

The phraseological unit “bite your tongue” (“to stop yourself from
saying something that you would really like to say”) is also used in the
dictionary form.

The second key issue of our research is the question of the frequency
of the use of phraseological units in their usual and occasional forms. It
should be noted that 59% of the total number of phraseological units in
online comments were used in a non-transformed usual form, i.e. their
share slightly exceeds half of the total amount of phraseological units
under analysis. This fact, in our opinion, is an indicator that the
transformations of phraseological units are not rare; they are commonplace
in the speech of ordinary native speakers.

¹ The authors’ orthography and punctuation are preserved.
2.3. Occasional use of phraseological units

As stated above, transformations of phraseological units in speech are the norm rather than exception. Below are examples of each type of transformation found in online comments.

Replacement of a component/components

In this type of transformation, the original component of a phraseological unit can be replaced by a synonymous, antonymous lexeme, or a lexeme belonging to the same lexical and semantic field (Arsenteva 2009). For example:

*In the dark world of today, Star Trek continues to gloss like a beacon of hope, for what humanity could potentially achieve if it set its mind to it.*

The replacement of the verb component “shine” in the phraseological unit “shine like a beacon of hope” with the occasional component “gloss” contributes to the renewal of the figurativeness of the phraseological unit. It is difficult to judge the reason for the replacement of the component, however, the new version of the phraseological unit sounds lively and modern.

According to the results of our study, the replacement of a component/components accounts for 7% of the total number of transformations.

Insertion of a component/components

*Could we please have an Ant- & Dec-free year? You should keep your big ears open. They’re a health hazard, plunging many I know into gloom just by their inane presence. Or like a virus you just can’t escape.*

An occasional component “big” is inserted into the base form of a phraseological unit “keep your ears open” (“keep your eyes open, be alert”). In this case, insertion increased the expressiveness of the statement and, in our opinion, brought an offensive character to it.

The example demonstrates that the additional component is syntactically linked to the usual components. However, there are cases when inserted words are syntactically independent of the components of the phraseological unit (Arsenteva 2009). This subtype of transformations is called cleft use. For example:
It’s an industry awards that is really only interesting to those in the industry. I gather there was a G16 awards for the glass industry, was I interested? When it’s like pigs fly. Am I interested in a bunch of levies telling each other how wonderful they are darling.. Never, it is only because their industry is to do with the media that they believe the rest of us are interested in them.

Inserted components “it’s like” are not related syntactically to the components of the original phraseological unit “when pigs fly” (“never”); they break the structure of the phraseological unit. It should be noted that “like” is common filler in English oral speech; therefore, this example is a clear example of the fact that an online comment represents oral-written speech, not purely written one.

Insertion accounted for 7% of the total number of transformations of phraseological units.

**Addition of a component / components**

The difference between addition and insertion is that the occasional components are attached either to the beginning or to the end of the original unit, and they are not inserted into the middle of the phraseological unit. Adjectives or adverbs are most frequently used as an added component (Arsenteva 2009). For example:

*Another nail in the coffin. ECB are on a mission to completely destroy cricket in this country within 10 years, and it looks like they will succeed.*

The additional component “another” specifies the meaning of the phraseological unit “nail in coffin” (“an event that will aggravate the situation and lead something to an imminent end”). The author of the comment makes it clear that the ECB (England and Wales Cricket Board) has previously committed acts that negatively affected the state of cricket in the country.

The addition of the component/components accounted for 11% of the total number of transformations based on our material.

**Ellipsis**

An ellipsis is a reduction in the number of components of a phraseological unit (Arsenteva 2009). The allusion is an extreme instance of the ellipsis and is a truncation of the original components to one or two key (or nuclear) components (Naciscione 2001). Truncated components do
not carry the main semantic load, so the phraseological unit is easily restored by a native speaker. For example:

Let spade a spade. I've not seen that one. I guess winning awards gives them a sense of worth, you know...27p!

The dictionary form of a phraseological unit is “call a spade a spade” (“to say the truth about something, even if it is not polite or pleasant”); in the example the component “call” is truncated.

She doesn’t let the grass grow, I must say.

The phraseological unit “let the grass grow under feet” (to do nothing) is also used in a truncated form.

In our opinion, the authors of online comments unconsciously resort to ellipsis for the purpose of speech economy.

The elliptis accounted for 6% of the total number of transformations.

Let us note that in each of the above examples there are informal fixed expressions – “you know” and “I must say”. Both of them are marked as spoken, i.e. they are usually used in oral speech; however, as the examples show, such phraseological units are also typical of oral-written speech.

**Phraseological reiteration**

when I read about what Cohn and Manchin are doing I thought... criminals that are nothing more than mobsters that are racketeering to steal our money with a bunch of lies inside of our government and to be flush with money. They say they will give us money for our bridges and roads but they forget to say that they will charge absurd tolls and frisk Americans on the daily after they will flush with money and have them just for having to go to work or wanting to travel. Trump’s infrastructure plan was this all along. We should have known he was lying there too about helping common Americans.

In this case, the author of the online comment twice uses the phraseological unit “be flush with money” (“to have a lot of money”). Reiteration speaks to the intensity of the commentator’s emotions; he/she is clearly dissatisfied with the fact that those in power only care about their own well-being and forget about the needs of ordinary Americans.

Note that in the example, reiteration of the phraseological unit is made in the mini context of a single comment. Another option is possible: reiteration of a phraseological unit can occur in the chain of online comments, when the author of a subsequent comment repeats the
phraseological unit used in the previous one. In this case, we are dealing with dialogic repetition, which is so characteristic of oral speech. It is used to convey one’s agreement with the remark of the interlocutor, to signal mutual understanding and common views (Kolokol'ceva 2001). Let’s address an example:

*Trump, what a *bad apple*. While Paulo Gentiloni (Italian Premier and the host of the G7) was making a very important speech on the EU's relation with Africa and let's face it we need to engage with Africa before it's too late.

*Bad apple*, however, did not have the courtesy to even listen to what Gentiloni had to say. All the other leaders were all wired in to listen to his speech...Trump had NO ear peace and just kept looking around nodding his head occasionally, making out he was listening. What a fraud and what a charlatan, no respect for anyone...AMERICA FIRST???

Both interlocutors use the phraseological unit “bad apple” (“a scoundrel”), in order to show their negative attitude towards Donald Trump.

In our database, reiteration of a phraseological unit account for 6% of the total number of transformations.

**Phraseological saturation of context**

There are two types of phraseological saturation of context: (a) the first type of phraseological saturation represents the simultaneous use of two or more phraseologpal units in context; (b) the second type of phraseological saturation of the context implies the use of several phraseological units that have undergone contextual transformations (Arsenteva 2009; Naciscione 2001). Here is an example of phraseological saturation of context:

*Normally the Sun won't allow comments on Me-gain articles as they know the British public cannot stand her. This pair are turning the people against the Royal Family. I have always been a Royalist but since she has got her claws into Harry I have become more and more republican. Once Her Majesty and Duke of Edinburgh pass away I think a majority of people would rather see the Monarchy abolished as the younger Royals are too out of touch with ordinary people.*

The author of this comment used two phraseological units: “get your claws into somebody” (“to find a way of influencing or controlling someone”) and “out of touch” (“not having the same ideas as most people
about something”). The first unit is used in its usual form; the second has undergone the addition of the components “way too”. This example illustrates the second type of phraseological saturation of the context, one of the most expressive means of influencing the recipient (i.e. the reader of the comment).

Let’s turn to another example:

*I will pay for their one-way tickets out of the UK. Good riddance to them both You want your cake and eat it.*

The author wrote this comment regarding the decision of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle to build a house in Botswana. In the context (as in the previous example), there are two phraseological units: “good riddance” (“I am happy that someone or something is gone”) and “have your cake and eat it” (“to pursue two mutually exclusive goals, try to combine incompatible things”). The first unit is used in its usual form; the second one contains the replacement of the original component “have” with “want”. Both phraseological units are characterized by negative connotation and clearly reflect the author’s opinion of the news about the spouses.

Phraseological saturation of context accounted for 3% of the total number of transformations based on our material.

In the course of the study, we did not find any examples of the use of extended phraseological metaphor or phraseological pun. From our point of view, this can be explained by the fact that these transformations are the most complex ones. The first technique – extended phraseological metaphor – involves the introduction of sub-images or additional images that are grouped around the basic metaphor of the phraseological unit (Arsenteva 2009; Naciscione 2001). The second technique – phraseological pun – consists in the interplay between the figurative meaning of a phraseological unit and the literal meaning of its components.

Playing with images or meanings require certain literary skills that are not inherent in all ordinary native speakers and, as the study shows, do not tolerate the reactive pace of the Internet comment.

Thus, the phraseological units that underwent transformations accounted for 41% of the total number of phraseological units selected from online comments. Out of 41% of the transformed phraseological units, replacement of the component/components occurred in 7% of cases, insertion accounted for 7%, addition for 11%, ellipsis for 6%, phraseological reiteration for 6%, and phraseological saturation of context for 4% of the cases under analysis. Examples of extended phraseological metaphor and phraseological pun were not detected.
3. Conclusions

After selecting 500 online comments from the electronic newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Sun*, we identified 185 comments containing phraseological units. 37% of the comments contained a phraseological unit; thus it may be suggested that the presence of phraseological units is a generic peculiarity of the Internet comment. As we mentioned earlier, comments are written in a rush of feelings. Phraseological units allow authors to express their thoughts succinctly and emotionally.

The Internet comment is a type of oral-written speech of ordinary speakers, despite this, the percentage of phraseological units that have undergone transformation is high (41%). If authors of fiction intentionally use transformations in a literary text in order to produce a stylistic effect, then the average reader and the author of the Internet comment uses transformations, in our opinion, unconsciously. This is why complex transformations (such as phraseological pun or extended phraseological metaphor) are rare. The most common types of transformations are addition of a component/components (11%), replacement of a component/components (7%), and insertion (7%). Ellipses (6%) and phraseological reiteration (6%) are slightly less frequent. The most common types of transformations (with the exception of reiteration) involve changes exclusively in the structure of the phraseological unit. Phraseological saturation of context accounted for 4% of the total number of transformations. This may be due to the high degree of emotionality of the online comment.

In general, the study has shown that the genre peculiarity of the Internet commentary (its emotionality and spontaneity, as well as simultaneous belonging to both oral and written forms of speech) determines the special use of phraseological units by the authors of comments.

References


CHAPTER SIX

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS WITH THE AUTHOR’S TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE WORKS BY D.H. LAWRENCE

ELENA ARSENTEVA¹, NAILYA GOLOLOBOVA²

1. Introduction

Lately many scientists in the field of phraseology have been studying phraseological units (hereinafter referred to as “PU”) on speech level, i.e. within discourse. That is why it is still of immediate interest to research PUs within the frameworks of literal works of classical and modern writers. One of them is D.H. Lawrence, who is well known as a classical English writer and the author, who excessively used a vast number of phraseological units. The abstracts from his works illustrate the usage of phraseological units in many phraseological dictionaries, scientific works and articles on phraseology.

Prior to the analysis of phraseological units in literary works, it is necessary to clarify what is understood by phraseological unit and what its peculiar features are. According to the terminology of the major phraseologist A.V. Kunin:

“a phraseological unit is a stable combination of words with a fully or partially figurative meaning” (Kunin 1972, 8).

This definition has two integral features: sustainability and reinterpreted meaning, which differ this kind of combinations from free collocations and set phrases, which are also stable, but are not characterized by transferred meaning. Another distinguished feature of PU is its sustainability.

¹ Kazan Federal University, Russia, elenaarsentiewa@mail.ru
² Kazan Federal University, Russia, nailya.gololobova@gmail.com
and variability in discourse at the same time. Anita Naciscione states that the stability of PU is sustained by its base form, which stays the same for all its manifestations (variants, transformations) in discourse:

“The PU is an archetypal conception in its base form. As a decontextualized unit of language, it is generic to all manifestations of a particular PU in discourse or a totality of discourses. The base form is a cohesive entity per se which secures the existence, development, and sustainability of the PU in discourse” (Naciscione 2010, 34).

Thus, the existence of the base form makes possible the existence of various transformations of PUs. The importance of the possibility of such transformations lies within refreshment and new interpretation of existing PUs, as well as the creation of new ones. According to A.V. Kunin, PU in its development process passes the following stages: occasional usage, potential phraseological unit, and, finally, phraseological unit (Kunin 2005).

Types of author transformations have been the subject of studies of various scientists, among them N. Shadrin, R. Moon, B. Frazer, A. Naciscione, L. Bairamova (Shadrin 1991; Moon 1998; Frazer 1970; Naciscione 2001; Bairamova 1983). One of the most popular and integral classifications of PU with author transformation was created by a prominent representative of Kazan linguistic school Elena Arsenteva. According to this classification, 9 types of author transformation of phraseological units are distinguished, namely:

1. substitution of lexical component or components;
2. insertion of lexical component or components;
3. addition of lexical component or components;
4. ellipsis;
5. phraseological reiteration;
6. extended phraseological metaphor;
7. phraseological saturation of discourse (context);
8. phraseological pun;
9. phraseological contamination (Arsenteva 2006).

In the present research we decided to check whether we could find all of the examples of the transformations according to this classification in the works by D.H. Lawrence.
2. Main Part

2.1. Overview of the research

Some phraseological units from the works by D.H. Lawrence have been studied by Anita Naciscione in her work “Stylistic Use of Phraseological Units in Discourse” (Naciscione 2010). Basing her research on such literary works as “Mr. Noon”, “Rawdon’s Roof”, “Lost Girl” the scientist showed the examples of usage of such author transformations as extended phraseological metaphor, phraseological pun, phraseological allusion, phraseological reiteration, and phraseological saturation of discourse.

Anita Naciscione thinks that around 25% of all the phraseological units found in the works by D.H. Lawrence are transformed by the author. The present research identifies that within the several works of D.H. Lawrence around 18% of phraseological units were transformed by the author, namely 138 out of 791 cases. For the sake of research we have chosen the following works by D.H. Lawrence: novels “The Rainbow” and “The Plumed Serpent”, short stories “The Prussian Officer”, “Smile”, “You Touched Me”, “Two Blue Birds”, “The Lovely Lady”. For the aim of the research we used The Free Dictionary's Idioms dictionary by Farlex, and a number of paper-based dictionaries, such as The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms by Christine Ammer, Cambridge Dictionary of American Idioms, Dictionary of American Idioms and Phrasal Verbs by R.Spears.

Phraseological units with the author transformations were analyzed according to the classification proposed by honored professor Elena Arsenteva.

The research revealed that the most favorite method of PU transformation by D.H. Lawrence is the method of insertion of lexical component – we have found 52 such cases. The author also uses quite often the method of substitution when transforming the PU – there are 38 such cases. The addition of lexical component or components was used in 2 cases. Phraseological reiteration was found in 14 cases, ellipsis was used 24 times, extended phraseological metaphor – 30 times. Also one example of such rare type of transformation as phraseological contamination was found, as well as 16 cases of such complex author transformation as phraseological pun and 21 cases of phraseological saturation, which serve as the example of specific mastery of the author and require special attention of the translators.

The above-mentioned transformations are demonstrated in Figure 1.
2.2. Substitution of lexical component or components

According to the opinion of most researchers, substitution of lexical component or components is one of the most frequent and effective types of PU transformations, which is used in order to intensify the metaphorical meaning of PU, its expressiveness, emotional intensity, and also to define the meaning of PU.

As stated above, 38 cases of such PU transformation were found in literary works under research. Let us consider some of these cases.

“The younger generation calculates its ‘happiness’ in a more business-like fashion.”
In this case the phraseological unit “in one’s own fashion” is transformed – instead of two components, namely “one’s” and “own”, the author uses the phrase “a more business-like”.

“He jumped once more into the gangway and started running, alas, on towards where the wounded horse was still limping its way to the exit.”

In this example, in order to intensify the expressiveness and emotional impact, the author transforms the phraseological unit “to go one’s way” by means of substituting the verb “to go” for the verb “to jump”.

“And at the same time something obstinate and mature, a demonish maturity, opposing her in an animal way.”

The dictionary form of the PU “in one’s way” is changed by substituting the possessive pronoun for the noun “animal”.

“His own nerves must be going to pieces.”

Here the author uses an occasional variant of the PU “come to pieces” with the substitution of the verb “to come” for the verb “to go”.

“All his American will was summoned up, the bald eagle of the north bristling in every feather.”

This sentence has a fine example of transformed PU, as well as a vivid metaphor. The writer uses the phraseological unit “to summon up (one’s) courage”, but substitutes the noun “courage” for the noun “will”.

“The lieutenant had no gift of expression.”

In this sentence the reader of the literary works who reads the piece in the original language can easily distinguish the transformation of the PU “the gift of the gab”, where one of the lexical components – the noun “gab” was substituted for the noun “expression”.

“Tom Brangwen was now the fairy godfather.”

In this example from the novel “The Rainbow” we find the substitution of the lexical component in the phraseological unit “fairy godmother”, namely the noun “godmother” was substituted for the noun “godfather”.

2.3. Insertion of lexical component(s)

Insertion is the type of PU transformation which anticipates the insertion of components thus increasing the number of components in the lexical structure of PU. The first Soviet scientist, who described the process, was Alexander Kunin (Kunin 1973). The creator of the biggest English-Russian Phraseological Dictionary considers that by such a transformation there is no change in the meaning of the PU, it can only be strengthened or weakened.

The examples of this phenomenon are as follows:

“Kate had never been taken so completely by surprise in all her life.”

In this example lexical components “so” and “completely” are inserted into the composition of the phraseological unit “to take somebody by surprise”.

The next sentence shows the transformation of the phraseological unit “to do somebody a mischief”, which adds more profound expressiveness and emotional impact by means of insertion of the lexical components “all” and “the” into the composition of the PU:

“Saying the wrong thing has done all the mischief.”

One more example of an expressive phraseological unit with transformation in the form of insertion is given in the next sentence:

“Of course we heard!” cried Mrs. Burlap, seeing dry land at last.”

Here D.H. Lawrence inserts the adjective “dry” between two components of the PU “to see land”, which outlines the metaphorical origin of the PU – the language of seamen. Besides that, the author also uses one more PU, being more neutral in its sense – the phraseological unit “at last”, thus making this abstract an example of phraseological saturation of context with the aim to intensify the emotional impact of the narration.

The next case serves as an example of substantive transformation of the phraseological unit “kick against the pricks”:

“Then don’t do it!” said Kate, who was impatient of Owen’s kicking at these very little social pricks, and swallowing the whole porcupine.”

In this sentence the author performs two kinds of transformation: firstly, he transforms the verbal phrase into the construction with the
verbal noun; secondly, he introduces a number of defining words to the component “pricks”, namely “these”, “very”, “little”, and “social” into the composition of the PU, thus making it a vivid example of the PU transformation in the form of insertion.

The phraseological unit “keep in mind” is represented in its transformed version in the next sentence:

“The scene is little changed since the days of Montezuma, when the natives of the lake worshipped the spirit of the waters, and threw in little images and idols of baked clay, the lake sometimes returns to the descendants of the dead idolaters, to keep them in mind of practices not yet altogether forgotten.”

This sentence shows the use of PU transformation in the form of insertion and addition. The author inserts the pronoun “them” between the components “keep” and “in”, he adds the noun with the preposition “of practices” to the end of the phraseological unit.

Another interesting example of PU transformation can be found in the next sentence:

“Mrs. Norris always put her visitors uncomfortably at their ease.”

Here the author implements the method of insertion of lexical component into the phraseological unit by inserting the item “uncomfortably”, which does not correlate with the meaning of the PU “to set somebody at ease”. This sentence also contains an example of insertion of the pronoun “their” into the lexical components “at” and “ease”.

There is an insertion of lexical components into the composition of the phraseological unit in the next sentence as well:

“She was a beautiful woman, in her own unconventional way.”

The PU “in one’s way” is used repeatedly by the author, and this time again in its transformed version with the insertion of the new components: the author introduces two adjectives “own” and “unconventional” into the composition of the given PU.

Once more this phraseological unit was transformed by the author in the following sentence:

“In her vague, woman’s way, Kate knew this.”
This time the author inserts the adjective “vague” and the noun in the possessive case “woman’s”, which serves as an attribute.

In the next sentence the PU “fly in the ointment” undergoes a number of transformations:

“In all this ointment there was one little fly.”

Here the author changes the order of the components of the PU, and also inserts a number of lexical components, among them: “all”, “this”, “one”, and “little”. The PU gains fresh interpretation and catches the reader’s attention.

2.4. Addition of lexical component(s)

Addition of one or several lexical components, expansion of the number of components is performed with the help of adding components at the beginning or at the end of PU.

This type of transformation was used with respect to the phraseological unit “to take sides” in the following sentence:

“When he died he told me to follow my own conscience, and to remember that Mexico and all the Indians were in the hands of God, and he made me promise never to take sides against God.”

In this case, the author adds the phrase “against God” to the composition of the phraseological unit.

The addition of lexical component to the phraseological unit is one of two types of transformations that were used in the PU “to shrug (one's) shoulders” in the following sentence:

“Who knows!” said Juana, with an evasive shrug of her shoulders.”

To start with, it is worth noting, that the author implements the method of nominalization, creating the nominative phrase with the preposition “a shrug of one’s shoulders” out of predicative construction “to shrug one’s shoulders”. The resulting nominative phrase is supplied with the attribute expressed by the adjective “evasive”.

One more example of addition is associated with the phraseological unit “to stir (one's) blood” in the following sentence:
“Till gradually she became aware of him, aware of herself with regard to him, her blood stirred to life. She began to open towards him, to flow towards him again.”

With respect to this PU, the author uses more than one transformation. Firstly, the author uses the method of permutation, by which the verb is used in the form of Past Participle. After that, D.H. Lawrence adds the components “to” and “life” to the composition of the PU.

2.5. Ellipsis

Ellipsis or, in other words, reduction of component or components (also “omission”, “modified deformation”) is studied in the works by Ch. Fernando, A. Abdullina, Y. Arsentyeva, E. Arsenteva (Fernando, 1981; Abdullina, 2007; Arsentyeva, 2016; Arsenteva, 2006). This transformation is regarded as a contextual transformation of the first degree. The essence of ellipsis is the reduction of the number of PU component(s), thereat the reduction can’t be done with the core word(s) of PU, containing the main meaning and metaphorical idea of the whole PU.

A fine example of phraseological ellipsis is found in the following sentence:

“And men are less than the green-fly sucking the stems of the bush, so long as they live by business and bread alone. Parasites on the face of the earth.”

In this sentence it is easy to identify the phraseological unit “man shall not live by bread alone” – the author leaves out the components “man”, “shall”, “not”, retaining the core components of the PU. The author intensifies the degree of the emotional impact of the words of a preacher by adding the comparison with a green fly, and strengthens the expressiveness by adding one more sub-image – “parasites”. Allusion enables the reader to reconstruct the whole image of the phraseological unit by means of the key components of the PU.

One more very expressive example of phraseological ellipsis and allusion is found in the novel “The Rainbow” where the author transformed the PU “a drowning man will clutch at a straw”:

“But Matthew held out his hand, like a man reaching for the last straw.”

D.H. Lawrence uses a set of transformations – he omits the components “drowning”, “will”, substitutes the verb “to clutch” for the
verb “to reach”, and also adds the component “last”. The author performs these transformations for the reader to easily identify the well-known phraseological unit.

2.6. Phraseological reiteration

Many scientists consider phraseological reiteration to be a frequently used method of emotional impact on the reader. This type of transformation is used in order to intensify the utterance. There are two types of phraseological reiteration: repeating the whole PU or just its part. The first type is easier to be used; the second type is more complicated because it is not always possible to repeat the part of PU due to structural or grammatical features of certain types of PU, for example, adjectival and interjectional PUs, which are usually characterized by a limited number of components.

This type of transformation is used in a very expressive sentence:

“Oh to be out, to be out of this, to be free!”

In this example we find reiteration of the verb “to be” which is a case of phraseological reiteration, more precisely, phraseological reiteration of the second type, which includes repetition of only a part of the phraseological unit “to be out of it”.

Later on, in the same abstract D.H. Lawrence uses phraseological reiteration again, this time in the dialogue of two characters. The PU “come to power” in the first case retains its basic form:

“Oh, but mayn’t it be possible that he will change his views a little on coming into power?”

In the second case the same PU undergoes the author’s transformation in the format of substitution of the lexical component, namely, the verb “to come” by the verb “to get”:

“I should say very probable, if ever he gets into power,’ said young Henry.”

Phraseological reiteration of the second type is used in the following sentence:
Phraseological Units with the Author’s Transformations in the Works by D.H. Lawrence

“The Mexican, on his own ground, and heavy on his own base, let himself be shoved, oblivious.”

Here we observe reiteration of the part of the phraseological unit “be on (one’s) own ground”, namely, its components “on”, “his”, and “own”.

The PU with this type of transformation was used in the short story “You Touched Me” in which the writer used the part of the PU “not to be sneezed at” – the verb “to sneeze” two times:

“It was not to be sneezed at: they felt so themselves, and refrained from sneezing away such a fortune on any mere member of the proletariat.”

2.7. Extended phraseological metaphor

The first scientist to study this type of transformation was Anita Naciscione. In her works she introduced the concept of extended phraseological metaphor creation from the point of view of cognitive science (Naciscione, 2001; Naciscione, 2010). As was later proved by other researchers extended phraseological metaphor is the creation of additional images or sub-images. The base metaphor of PU, which is based on metaphorical meaning shifting lies at the very core of such sub-images.

A good example of extended phraseological metaphor is given in the following sentence:

“Yes! Perhaps he put his wine in old, rotten bottles that wouldn’t hold it. No!—Liberty is a rotten old wine-skin. It won’t hold one’s wine of inspiration or passion any more.”

In this abstract the author uses the phraseological unit “put new wine into old bottles”. The author transforms the PU itself by means of adding the lexical component “rotten”, substituting the adjective “new” for the pronoun “his”, and later on constructs the common metaphorical image with the help of sub-images “wine-skin”, “wine”.

2.8. Phraseological saturation

It is considered that phraseological saturation of discourse (context) is one of the most powerful methods of making an impact on the recipient (Naciscione, 2001, 107-118; Naciscione, 2010, 107). This type of transformation is referred to the transformations of the second type of contextual configuration. There are two types of phraseological saturation of discourse. The first one, which is called the basic type, is the use of two
or more PUs simultaneously in their basic form in context. The second type implies the use of several types of occasional transformation of PU or the usage of two or more PUs with certain types of contextual transformations.

A good example of phraseological saturation of context is given in the passage from the dialog of two main characters of the novel “The Plumed Serpent”. Two expressive phraseological units of Biblical origin are used in the passage next to each other: “heaven on earth” and “hell on earth”. Also, these two PUs have a common component, thus making it an example of phraseological reiteration at the same time:

“If only their deeds followed their words, Mexico would be heaven on earth.”

“Instead of hell on earth,” snapped the Judge.”

Another fine example of the PU transformation is given in the exclamation of the main character in the same novel:

“How small the world is!” said Kate.”

Her utterance “the world is a small place” gains fresh interpretation thanks to the use of several transformations of the given phraseological unit, namely, the omission of the component “place”, and addition of the adverb “how”.

Another example of simultaneous use of several phraseological transformations is the repetition of the PU “with a strong hand”. In the first two cases the author transforms the PU by means of substituting the lexical component – the author introduces the verb “to put” and turns the adjectival component into a verbal one:

“I wish he might come in peacefully and put a strong hand on the country.”

A bit later we find the continuation of the idea:

“How can a man ... put a strong hand on a country.”

In the third case the author uses the base form of the PU:

“Why he came in on the very cry of “Down with the strong hand!”

All these three cases serve as an example of the second type of phraseological saturation of context.
The next abstract shows the use of five phraseological units: “on the one hand, on the other hand”, “to make a sacrifice”, “sort of”, “in a sense”, “to a certain degree”.

“Very easy, on the one hand, for me to become arrogant and a ravisher. And very easy, on the other hand, for me to deny myself, and make a sort of sacrifice of my life. Which is being ravished. Easy to let myself, in a certain sense, be ravished. I did it to a small degree even yesterday, with the Bishop of Guadalajara. And it is bad. If I had to end my life in a mistake, Sehora, I had rather end it in being a ravisher, than in being ravished.”

This abstract attracts our attention not only because of the numerous usage of PUs but also because some of these phraseological units are used in their transformed version.

Thus, the phraseological unit “sort of” is inserted into the phraseological unit “to make a sacrifice”, this way being an example of such transformations as phraseological contamination and insertion of lexical component into the phraseological unit. One more example of insertion is observed in the case with the PU “in a certain sense”, where the adjective “certain” is included in the base form of the phraseological unit “in a sense”. And, finally, one more example of transformation is shown in the phraseological unit “to a small degree” in which instead of the adjective “certain” in the base form of this PU the adjective “small” is used.

Summing up, this abstract is a fine example of a certain mastery of D.H. Lawrence in the field of usual and occasional use of phraseological units, and also it shows a vast variety of author transformations of phraseological units. The aim of the usage of all these PUs here is to create the image of a person who speaks impulsively, passionately, but at the same time carefully, choosing his words.

2.9. Phraseological pun

Phraseological pun (in other words “dephraseology”, “binary actualization”, “phraseological wordplay”) is the occasional use of PU in its basic dictionary form, but with dual interpretation, when the reader perceives both the figurative and direct meaning of its components.

A fine example of phraseological pun is used in the following sentence from the short novel “The Prussian Officer”: 
“And when the Captain was there on horseback, giving orders, while he himself stood, with rifle and knapsack, sick with pain, he felt as if he must shut his eyes — as if he must shut his eyes on everything.”

In this case the components of the phraseological unit “to shut one’s eyes on something” are used more than once. Firstly, these components are used in their direct meaning in the form of the variable expression, namely literary “to close someone’s eyes”, and right away, after a hyphen – the same components are used in their figurative, phraseological meaning, i.e. “to refuse to consider or acknowledge something”.

One more interesting case of phraseological pun can be found in the following sentence:

“The Judge was hobbling along the pavement like a cat on hot bricks, to the corner.”

In our opinion, the PU “like a cat on hot bricks” can be interpreted from two angles: both literally and figuratively, thus making the readers enjoy this phraseological pun. The phraseological meaning of this PU is as follows: “very nervous”. According to the plot of the novel the judge was walking along the stone pavement along hot Mexican afternoon, literary on the hot bricks. This phraseological unit was studied in the article by L. Zinatullina, who identified the type of the given phraseological unit, namely, adverbial PU (Zinatullina 2016, 83-84).

Another case of phraseological pun is connected with the novel “The Rainbow”, where the author uses the PU “cupboard love”. The author does not transform the PU, but the surrounding context of this PU makes us think that in this case the author resorts to phraseological pun. In order to understand the full meaning of this PU context is needed, which is as follows: a young girl is going to get married and her father brings her presents for the bride, which she will later use in her house – different utensils, pieces of furniture. The girl meets her father merrily, who growls, that:

“It’s cupboard love as brings you out so sharp,” he said, his voice resounding in the cold darkness.”

As we see, in this context D.H. Lawrence plays with the meaning of the phraseological unit because its phraseological meaning is “affection that somebody shows towards somebody else in order to get something”. Cupboard here refers to food, which is kept in a cupboard, so this idiom originally meant “showing love to somebody in order to get food”. But at
the same time this PU can be understood in its literal meaning – the joy of a young girl because of new furniture and kitchen stuff.

2.10. Phraseological contamination

Phraseological contamination is an example of a very complex cognitive process of adhesion of two or more PUs. According to the researchers, contamination is possible in case of adhesion of two PUs with one common component. There are few examples of phraseological contamination because such a transformation requires significant intellectual capacities and is time-consuming (Arsenteva, 2009, 61-62).

Author transformation in the form of phraseological contamination is used in the following sentence from the short story “The Prussian Officer”:

“What were they after all but bruises!”

Here two PUs are put together: “after all” and “all but”, which have a common component “all”.

In the novel “The Rainbow” the same type of transformation is found in the sentence:

“So they kept each other company, but at a distance, rarely speaking.”

In this case two PUs with the common component “to keep” are blended, namely, “to keep company”, and “to keep somebody at a distance”.

2.11. Other types of transformations

Besides researched groups of PU transformations in the selected works by D.H. Lawrence a number of transformations, which do not meet the chosen classification was found. Those are the cases of passivization, nominalization, transformation of phraseological units into compound words. The following ones are the examples of such transformations:

“Mexico is not Mexico for nothing, however, and already blood had been shed on both sides.”

In this case the component “blood” of the phraseological unit “to shed one’s blood” is moved to the position of the subject of the sentence due to the passivization process.
“They wanted to break this spirit, so that they could start the great downhill rush back to old underworld levels, old gold-worship and murder lust.”

This case shows the transformation of the phraseological unit “to go downhill”, namely, the simultaneous replacement of the lexical component in the form of the verb “to go” with a more emotional verb “to rush”, as well as the nominalization of the latter.

The next example shows the process of the formation of a compound word out of the PU “fair and square”:

“Something older, and more everlastingly potent, than our would-be fair-and-square world.”

These transformations are not mentioned in the classification used in the present article but are presented in the works by Bruce Frazer (Frazer 1970). Bruce Frazer studied the phenomenon of stability of phraseological units and developed the hierarchy of the transformational potential for PU’s variability. According to him all PUs can be divided into six levels in which the zero level is characterized by completely frozen PUs, which do not enable any transformations. The sixth level of the transformational potential corresponds to the PUs, which allow an unlimited number of transformations.

A brief summary of this hierarchy is given in table 1.

As was stated above, PUs that can not be interpreted literally and can not be transformed, correspond to the zero level. The first level enables gerundive nominalization, i.e. transformation by means of adding suffix “-ing” and preposition “of”. The second level implies the addition of a non-phraseological lexical component into the composition of PU. The third level of transformational potential enables the component’s movement inside the PU. The fourth level enables a number of transformations, among them extraction and placement of the components outside the PU. The fifth level anticipates the changes in the syntactic functions of PU, for example, when the verb phrase can function as a subject of the sentence. The last level represents the extreme position of the hierarchy, on this level PU loses its stability, meaning that it stops being a phraseological unit and it turns into a variable expression.
Table 1. Classification of Phraseological Unit (PU) Transformations by Frazer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Possible Transformations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>unrestricted</td>
<td>open a window</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>reconstruction</td>
<td>let the cat out of the bag</td>
<td>passivization, nominalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>extraction</td>
<td>hit the nail on the head</td>
<td>placement of the components outside the PU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>permutation</td>
<td>bring the house down</td>
<td>component’s movement inside the PU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>insertion</td>
<td>lend a hand</td>
<td>placement of components inside the PU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>adjunction</td>
<td>burn the candle at both ends</td>
<td>gerundive nominalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>completely frozen</td>
<td>trip the light fantastic</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specified cases from the literary works correspond to the fifth level of the transformational potential of phraseological units by Bruce Frazer.

The above-mentioned examples also fit the classification of PU transformations by one more linguist who worked in the field of phraseology – Chitra Fernando (Fernando 1981). In her work the scientist distinguishes five types of transformations, namely, introduction, replacement, addition, permutation, and deletion. The given examples correspond to the fourth type of PU transformations, namely, permutation.

Chitra Fernando describes the following types of phraseological unit permutation:

1. Particle shift, as in the example “they beat up the people” or “they beat people up”.
2. Inversion of the verb + object predicate into a nominal phrase, as in “somebody drops a brick”–“a brick dropper”. Such type of conversion is usually used subconsciously and is not distinguished as something unusual. It indicates the language comprehension level and speaker’s speech fluency.
3. According to Chitra Fernando, another type of transformation is Passivization in which the Active Voice is substituted by the
Passive Voice. We observe such a case with the phraseological unit “to leave no stone unturned” with the meaning “to make every possible effort, to use every possible source or resource”:

“Gorbachev leaves no stone unturned at the PR summit.”  
“He released a statement saying that no stone would be left unturned to find the culprits. (Fernando 1996, 50)”

4. Native speakers can also change over the subject and the object of the sentence in order to create such a variation of the PU that can be used only once. The following sentence with the PU “the cat that swallowed the canary” with the meaning “someone who is smugly pleased or self-satisfied” proves it:

“For a while in Hobart this week it looked faintly as if the canary had swallowed the cat (Fernando 1996, 51)”.

Such changing over, apparently, is used in a similar way in the phraseological unit “the tail wagging the dog”, meaning “a situation where a small or unimportant part of something becomes too important and controls the whole situation.

3. Conclusions

Literary works of D.H. Lawrence contain various examples of phraseological unit transformations, including those identified in the classification by Elena Arsenteva (substitution of lexical component or components, insertion of lexical component(s), addition of lexical component(s), ellipsis, phraseological reiteration, extended phraseological metaphor, phraseological saturation, phraseological pun, phraseological contamination) as well as a number of transformations studied in the classifications by Bruce Fraser and Chitra Fernando. Altogether 18% of all the phraseological units found in selected works by D.H. Lawrence have been transformed by the author.

References


CHAPTER SEVEN

THE USE OF THE PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS WITH THE SEMANTICS OF EXTREME IN RUSSIAN DISCOURSE

ELENA IVANYAN1, ALENA KLYUSHINA2

1. Introduction

Phraseological unit (PhU) as semantically indistinguishable language unit with vivid imagery can express particular semantics and be constituents of the functional-semantic category (FSC). The field approach to language phenomena, which emerged at the end of the 19th century and has been actively developing since the second quarter of the 20th century in the works by K. Heise, J. Trier, G. Ipsen et al. (Heise 1856; Trier 1931; Ipsen 1932), currently presents various aspects of the study of language units. In Russian linguistic studies, many FSCs have already been identified and described. The categories with a pronounced grammatical core and without it can be proper examples of such. For instance, the category of uncertainty has no grammatical core, since Russian is a non-articulate language. Extreme semantics (a category without a grammatically expressed core) should be included to the FSC. This category was first mentioned in (Nikolaeva 1982) in studying the phenomenon of accentuation in an utterance. T.M. Nikolaeva showed that a special excretory intonation in an utterance (that should not be mixed with a phrasal accent) conveys additional information, “the shadow utterance”. The “focus particles” reveal similar behaviour. Thus, if the situation described in the statement presents a deviation from the norm in the

1 Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education, Russia, elogos@rambler.ru
2 Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education, Russia, klyushina@pgsga.ru
framework of a broader text with generally understandable conditions of contact (happy conditions) (Nikolaeva 1982, 62-63), there is an accentuated emphasis that expresses the FSC of the extreme (FSCE). This category has the values of minimality and maximality. See an example of the minimum selection value:

“– Дай бумаги! Клочок какой-нибудь дай!” (Nikolaeva 1982, 63).

An accentuated selection actualises the minimality of the choice of an object (клочок) in oral speech and an indefinite by a pronoun какой-нибудь in a written form.

The FSCE has not been described in Russian jet. It is somehow mentioned in the monograph (Ivanyan 2015). The first works on the expression of FSCE in a fiction text have already been published (Klyushina 2020-a; Klyushina 2020-b).

We believe that the FSCE is hierarchically organised, its constituents are represented at different levels of the language: phonetic (accentuation), lexical (lexemes, PhUs containing the extreme component), word-forming (indefinite pronouns in one of the lexical-semantic variants with the formant of Russian -нибудь), etc.

The FSCE is a significant issue for the Russian linguoculture. Foreigners attribute striving for extremes in behaviour, the strength of feelings, and sometimes the expression of expression to the Russian mentality. Noticeably, Russian speakers themselves attribute the orientation to the extreme to the “Russian character”, the Russian mentality. Thus, the German historian and philologist V. Schubart, in “Europa und die Seele des Ostens”, writes:

“В чисто русской манере, доводить любое начинание до крайности” (Shubart 2000, 40).

The English linguist and military journalist M. Baring in the book “The Mainsprings of Russia” characterised Russia as a country of “extremes <...> and extravagant self-indulgence” (Baring 1914).

Russian philosopher and theologian S.N. Bulgakov begins the article “The Russian Public and Religion” with the words:

“Russia is a country of extremes and contradictions” (Bulgakov 1912, 11).

Russian philosopher I.A. Ilyin believed that natural severity and diversity influenced the Russian character's formation:
The Use of the Phraseological Unit with the Semantics of Extreme in Russian Discourse

“Россия поставила нас лицом к лицу с природой, суровой и
захватывающей, с глубокой зимой и раскаленным летом, с
безнадежно оледеневой и бурно, страстью весною. <…> Нам
открылся весь размах страстей и все крайности верха и низа…”
(Ilyin, http://project03.ru/cod/ii.php#PART1).

Russian philologist and cultural critic of the 20th century D.S.
Likhachev wrote:

“Совершенно правы те, кто говорит о склонности русских к
крайностям во всем” (Likhachev, http://
https://www.gazeta.ru/comments/2014/12/24_a_6358085.shtml).

Modern linguist A.D. Shmelev, discussing the PhU “широкая русская
душа”, notes:

“Однако выражение широта души может интерпретироваться и
иначе, обозначая тягу к крайностям” (Shmelev 2005, 52).

Modern sociologist A.N. Malinkin stresses:

“Историческое развитие через взрыв и скачок, шарахание из
крайности в крайность - характерная для России особенность
цивилизационного процесса” (Malinkin 2001).

We could provide some other quotations to the topic as they indicate
the prevalence of this view and indirectly reveal our research's relevance.
The appeal to PhUs, taking into account the FSCE confirms the novelty of
the study.

Objectives of the study: 1) to characterise the features of the studied
phraseological unit (SPhU) as having a national-cultural component is
included in the Russian linguistic view of the world on the example of the
PhU with the semantics of the extreme (бросаться из крайности в
крайность); 2) to describe the characteristics and diversity of variants
of the SPhU, and 3) to characterise the modification of the SPhU. in the
Russian discourse; 4) to correlate periods of the high frequency of
existence of the SPhU with the peaks in Russian history.

2. Main Part

2.1. The theoretical and methodological basis

The theoretical and methodological basis of the study were:
- the study of the semantic fields by Y. Trier, A.V. Bondarko (Bondarko 2001); ideas of functional linguistics of the scientific school of grammar by P. A. Lecant;
- the theory of phraseology that focuses on the features of the existence of PhUs in various spheres of discourse, contextual use, types of modification of stable combinations by V.M. Mokienko, and levels of representation of the national-cultural component in the PhUs by E.F. Arsenteva (Mokienko 2012; Arsenteva 2006);
- the idea of chronological periods in collective images of the past as the “peaks” and “valleys” of the past by E. Zerubavel et al (Zerubavel 2003).

The study used the descriptive method, the component analysis method, the linguistic observation method, the continuous sampling method, and the statistical processing method.

Language research is based on the examples from the National Corpus of the Russian language (NCRL) of SPhU of бросаться из крайности в крайность — to rush from one extreme to another, and its variants in different language levels that form a consistent field of FSCE. We have analysed three areas of Russian discourse: scientific (57), literature (157) and printed media discourse (134), which equals to 348 examples in total.

2.2. Results of the study

SPhU is mentioned in the phraseological dictionary of A.I. Fedorov and has the marks of “conversational” and “expressive”. Its meaning is 'to lose a sober, correct perception of reality' (Fedorov 2008).

I. As a constituent of the FSCE, the SPhU is a significant component of the Russian linguistic view of the world. Thus, verbal markers of SPhU can often be found in its closest context. These are the word forms of the pronouns мы, наш, the adjective русский, the lexemes of the thematic group 'Russia' страна, Россия, государство, for example:

Россия страна крайностей — либо она впадает в западничество до безумия, либо впадает в другую крайность, и начинается бесмысленное антизападничество (По мере таланта // lenta.ru, 2016.07.14).

Бросаться в крайности — это, согласитесь, в русском обычье (А. Лазарчук, М. Успенский. Посмотри в глаза чудовищ, 1996).
As we can see from the examples given, the very context containing SPhU indicates that the communicant attributes the property of focusing on the extreme to the Russian people and Russia as a whole. The SPhU's similar existence with the verbal markers of the Russian linguistic view of the world is common to all three Russian discourse areas: literature, scientific and printed media. The percentage representation of the mentioned above existence is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. The percentage of verbal markers of the Russian linguistic view of the world in SPhU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>spheres of Russian discourse</th>
<th>printed media</th>
<th>literature</th>
<th>scientific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>мы</td>
<td>16,4%</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
<td>1,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Россия, страна, государство</td>
<td>3,7%</td>
<td>0,6%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>наш</td>
<td>3,7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>русский</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0,6%</td>
<td>1,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>23,8%</td>
<td>3,7%</td>
<td>3,8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here and below in the tables, the statistics are arranged in descending order of frequency.

As shown in Table 1, the printed media sphere is the leader in the frequency of a SPhU with verbal markers of the Russian language view of the world, which corresponds to its purpose. It is noteworthy that a pragmatically loaded context mainly accompanies the examples with the
use of SPhU. This context contains some specific means that soften the
categorical utterance: verbs in the form of the subjunctive mood with the
particle бы, modal words (надо, можно), improper-direct use of the
pronoun мы or indefinite-personal sentence as a substitute for an utterance
with an active subject of the action, see the examples, respectively:

Вот только не впасть бы нам в очередную крайность, которыми
tак богата наша история (И. Кобылькина. По пути от базара к рынку

Главное, не надо шарахаться из крайности в крайность. Это мы
уже проходили, когда проводили глубокие зачистки или безоглядно
раздавали оружие чеченцам (Что делать с Чечней? // Комсомольская
правда, 2002.08.21).

Such contextual environment indicates that the statements are
significant for Russian native speakers and often enter the speaker's
psychological space.

The fact that the SPhU is classified as a significant fragment of the
linguistic view of the world should be considered with a clause that
attributing the propensity of Russia and Russians to extremes is a common
thing and is at the level of everyday consciousness. In contrast, at the level
of rational reflection, such attribution can cause reasonable objections.
Here are two arguments that confirm the statement above.

For example, the questions-and-answers service on the Yandex search
engine platform contains a similar question on the issue: “Why do
Russians have the principle of ‘rushing from extreme to extreme’, as a
guidance in everything, both in everyday life and in politics?” contains the
user's answer under Tsar nickname:

Русским не слишком свойственна крайность. Что такое российская
история? Типичнейшая история периферийного европейского
gосударства. Все по шаблону, все по матрице. Княжества-
cоролевство-империя. Да, во время революции чутка перекосило - но
фишка в том, что и коммунизм люди достаточно быстро
переварили сами собой - сначала разуверились, а потом надоело <...>
https://yandex.ru/q/question/pochemu_russkim_svoistvenen_printsip_iz_v
_a2a06d11/?answer_id=774423.

The user notes that it is more likely to attribute a tendency to extremes
to other peoples: the Germans – the Nazis, the Americans – the slavery of
blacks.
The second argument is given by the modern Russian historian A.P. Afanasyev, criticising N.A. Berdiaev for his thesis of the Russian people being focused on extremes:

“Философ берёт в сопоставлении исключительно грубо и наугад выдернутые крайности русского характера и даёт их в увечневенной статике” (Afanas’ev 2013, 29).

As a significant fragment of the Russian linguistic view of the world, SPhU contains a national-cultural component (lexeme крайность). At first glance, крайность (English extreme), seems to be a concept peculiar to various linguistic cultures, is almost a lexical universal. Meanwhile, this concept is expressed by the native Russian lexeme, derived from the word край. According to the historical and etymological dictionary of the modern Russian language by P.Ya. Chernykh, край is recorded since the 11th century as an Old Russian lexeme (Chernykh 1999, 438).

With the review of complex ideas about the Russian soul and the Russian character based on the language material and statements of scientists, cultural figures, and a resulting in this respect article by А.D. Shmelev, it can be concluded that the “passion to extremes” adds to this list, along with such noted national-cultural lexemes and PhUs as ширина русской души, широкий человек, простор, удастья, воля, and the word кураж that changed its meaning in the Russian lingua-cultural tradition.

The abstract noun крайность not only conveys a radical departure from the norm of the described situation but expresses it by correlating it with spatial representations, compares it with other definitions used in the Russian linguistic view of the world, focused on the vast (бескрайние) spaces (просторы) of Russia as the largest country in the world. Compare with another Russian PhU, which more obviously contains a national-cultural component на край света. According to the phraseological dictionary, this stable combination has marked as 'colloquial', 'expressive'; its meaning is “very far away; anywhere, to any most distant place” (Fedorov 2008).

According to the three-levelled classification of PhUs with a national-cultural component provided by E.F. Arsentieva, the component can be contained in the aggregate phraseological meaning; correlate with the cultural/onomastic reality; be represented in the prototype (tradition, custom) (Arsentieva 2006, 64-65). SPhU refers to the first level, which includes the images underlying such PhUs that are clear to the receptor language representatives. Their translation is carried out using calques, the lexical or descriptive translation method (Arsentieva 2006, 64-65). Our analysis of SPhU translations into English has shown that the lexical
The method of transmission prevails here (we carried out the analysis of translations on the Reverso Context website, which combines data from various multilingual corpora and presents translations of words in the context of particular books, films and documents), for example:

Похоже, вас бросает из крайности в крайность. - So it seems like you tend to go from one extreme to another.

О, наоборот. Он намерен всю жизнь метаться из крайности в крайность. - He's determined to live his life pursuing one extreme or the other.

Что-то тебя из крайности в крайность мотает, а? - It's one extreme to the other with you, innit?

II. The analysis of the existence of SPhU in different spheres of Russian discourse shows that SPhU is represented in a wide variety of phraseological variants:

1) to the lexicological contains: бросаться из крайности в крайность – кидаться из крайности в крайность – метаться из крайности в крайность, шарахаться из крайности в крайность;

2) according to the grammar form of the components: бросаться из крайности в крайность – бросались из крайности в крайность – бросается из крайности в крайность. In this phraseological paradigm, a combination of variants in lexical composition with variants in grammar form of components is presented: бросаться из крайности в крайность – кидаются из крайности в крайность – метались из крайности в крайность;

3) by the number of its components: бросаться из крайности в крайность – бросаться из одной крайности в другую крайность – бросаться из одной крайности в другую – бросаться в разные крайности – бросаться в крайность;

4) in syntactic variation: бросаться из крайности в крайность – бросание из крайности в крайность. The combination of lexical + syntactic variation is presented: бросаться из крайности в крайность – швырять из крайности в крайность – шарахание из крайности в крайность – метание из крайности в крайность.
As for the order of the components, SPhU allows some deviations in word order: "бросаться из крайности в крайность – из крайности в крайность бросаться."

The variety of SPhU variants obviously indicates and proves this language unit's wide existence in the Russian discourse.

We will consistently characterise the existence of SPhU, taking into account the representation of its variants and the spheres of Russian discourse.

### 2.3. Lexical variants

According to the data of NCRL, lexical variants of SPU are widely represented in all spheres of Russian discourse, that is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2. The representation of the lexical variation of the dominant member of SPhU in quantitative terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexical variation</th>
<th>spheres of Russian discourse</th>
<th>literature</th>
<th>media</th>
<th>scientific</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>впадать / впасть</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бросать / бросить / бросаться / броситься</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>доходить / дойти</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ударяться / удариться</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>переходить / перейти</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>кидать / кидаться / кинуться</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>шарахать / шарахаться</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вдаваться / вдаться</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>идти / пойти</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Действие</td>
<td>Числ.</td>
<td>Суд.</td>
<td>ИА</td>
<td>Всего</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>метаться</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прибегать / прибегнуть</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>достигать / достигнуть</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>решаться / решиться</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>уходить</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перескакивать / перескочь</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>приводить</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>швырнуть</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>брать</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вступить</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>входить</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>демонстрировать</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>докатиться</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>допускать</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заносить</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>качнуться</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>натолкнуться</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>нести</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>обращаться</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отбрасываться</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>падать</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перекидываться</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows that a significant number of lexemes as variants of the dominant part of a stable combination are involved in the lexical variation of SPhU, which equals 47 lexical variants found in 329 examples. The total number of examples of NCRL is 348 units.

It should be noted, that Table 2 is synoptic and combines data on lexical variation with grammatical one since it summatively considers the verb forms of the perfect-imperfect form, reflexive and non-reflexive verbs. If there are no examples in a particular verb pair, this verb form is also missing in the table.
Table 2 clearly shows that lexical variants of SPhU are leading ones in the literature sphere (144 examples) and printed media sphere (129 examples), while in the scientific field it is a rare case, which is consistent with the purpose for scientific accuracy and conciseness. At the same time, literature and printed media spheres can be characterised by splendidness and variety of means of expressiveness.

The lexical variants of SPhU with the component **падать*/падать* (93 examples), **бросать*/бросать*/броситься*/броситься* (62 examples) can be considered as highly frequent ones. The most active variant is the one with the **падать component, which is traced in NCRL with the earliest references of 1843. For example:

Отставала она от него, противилась, плакала, молила и кричала тогда только, когда он **падал** в крайности вредные и дурные, когда находило на него рвение преобразовывать весь мир плящь и палкой (В.И. Даль. Вахх Сидоров Чайкин, 1843).

Midrange lexical variants are the variants of SPhU with the component **доходить*/доить*/доходить*/доить*/ударяться*/удариться*/переходить*/перейти*, **кидать*/кидаться*/кинуться*. The frequency of their use is within two to three dozen examples.

It should be stressed that the lexical variation of SPhU is often accompanied by other types of variation, for example:

Несмотря на всю свою целеустремленность, он легко **падал из одной крайности в другую** (Д. Грин. Исследители, 1954).

So **бросаться*/падать* is a lexical variation, while grammatical variation is reflected by the grammar form of the past tense, singular, masculine verb. Variation in the number of components can also be meant in this case: the word form component **из одной** is added, and the component **крайность** is eliminated.

### 2.4. Grammar variants

The grammar variation of SPhU is represented by:

- verbs with and without the reflexive postfx of -ся: **бросаться***/бросать*,** кидаться*/кидать*;
- variants of verbs of imperfect/perfect types: **бросаться** – **броситься**, **кидаться** – **кинуться**, **падать** – **попасть**,
The Use of the Phraseological Unit with the Semantics of Extreme in Russian Discourse

впадать – впасть, переходить – перейти, прибегать – прибегнуть, доходить – дойти, ударяться – удариться;
- forms of participles and adverbs, for example:

Бесхарактерный, казалось бы, в жизни, он был дико упорен в работе и рос взрывами, скачками, бросаясь из одной крайности в другую (К.С. Петров-Водкин. Моя повесть, 1932).

The adverbial form бросаясь represents the grammar variant of the grammatically dominant prat of SPhU.

The results of the existence of grammar variants of SPhU in the spheres of Russian discourse are as follows: literature – 43.7%, printed media – 39.3%, and scientific – 17%.

The presence of grammatical variants of verb forms in SPhU's impersonal use is of particular importance. A. Vezhbitskaya wrote about the significant frequency of impersonal verbs and impersonal forms in Russian discourse. The author emphasises that it can be treated as a linguistic and cultural feature, believing that it reflects the traditional attitude of Russian culture to the world as a set of events that “cannot be controlled by humans or human understanding” (Vezhbitskaya 1996, 76). According to A. Vezhbitskaya, it seems as a speaker uses impersonal sentences to inform the addressee of the speech about the person's non-involvement in the course of events, and the world appears unknowable and full of mysteries, while the real causes of events are drawn as unclear and incomprehensible.

All the studied spheres of Russian discourse in this chapter have examples with the grammatically dominant member of SPhU in impersonal use or with an impersonal verb, for example:

— Его из крайности в крайность кидает (А. Иванов. Комьюнити, 2012).

Иногда в рассуждениях о сценическом искусстве приходится наталкиваться на такие крайности, как полное отрицание грима (Ю. Писаренко. Хрестоматия актера, 1930).

However, SPhU's grammatical version's frequent use in the impersonal verb form can be especially traced in the printed media. Here, two features of Russian linguoculture – “concentration on extremes” and, through the use of impersonal verbs, the description of the state of affairs as a set of events that cannot be controlled or understood – are presented. These
features are represented to the greatest extent, which is reflected in Figure 1.

![Figure 1. Frequency of use of SPhU with an impersonal verb in different spheres of Russian discourse](image)

Figure 1 clearly illustrates the dominance of the impersonal form as the dominant member of the P.U. that is usual for the printed media, accounting for 27.6% in this case, with 7% for the literature sphere and 5.3% for the scientific sphere respectively. According to the data provided, it is evident that the printed media texts are more sensitive to this linguistic and cultural feature.

### 2.5. Options for the number of components

The SPhU in Russian discourse can vary in the number of components: they may be shorter in comparison with the original form, or a word may spread the component. In our study, SPhU is frequently distributed by the attribute of the component крайность, which is reflected in Table 3.
Table 3. SPhU with the attribute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>attributes</th>
<th>spheres of Russian discourse</th>
<th>literature</th>
<th>printed media</th>
<th>scientific</th>
<th>total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>другая</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>противоположная</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>такая</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>нная</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>обратная</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>эта</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>последняя</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>великая</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>всякая</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>какая-то</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>любая</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>очередная</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разная</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>свойственная</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сия</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>смехотворная</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>страшная</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>та</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The analysis of the language material shows that SPhU has a frequency of variants with an attribute. There are 177 such examples out of a total amount of 348. SPhU is significantly often distributed as an attribute in the literature sphere (73 examples), while its number is slightly less in the printed media sphere and equal to 69 examples. One attribute is the word form of другая - another is a high-frequent one and is presented in 123 examples, the most usual in the printed media (60) and literature (41) spheres. The frequency of existence of attributes in SPhU is definitely due to the decorative function of the named functional spheres of speech.

2.6. Syntax options

Syntactic variants of SPhU are represented in various spheres of Russian discourse by replacing the verb as grammatically dominant word with an abstract (verbal) noun, for example:


Но и здесь, после всех испытанных бедствий, не угомонился: из пламенного республиканца обернулся вдруг столь же пламенным другом тиранов, с искренностью, свойственной ему в этих внезапных превращениях, переходах от одной крайности к другой (Д.С. Мережковский. Воскресшие Боги. Леонардо да Винчи, 1901).

The syntactic variant of SPhU is represented by replacing the grammatically dominant component of бросаться (the function of the predicative term) with the noun переход in the plural form (the function of an object).

Different syntactic variants are shown in Table 4.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ужасная</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>чрезмерная</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Representation of the syntactic variation of SPhU in different spheres of Russian discourse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>syntactic variations</th>
<th>media</th>
<th>literature</th>
<th>scientific</th>
<th>total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>шараханье</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>метание</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>переход</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перехождение / преходжение</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>скатывание</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of variants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 4, the syntactic variants are represented by five variants of lexemes (шараханье, метание, переход, перехождение / преходжение, скатывание). It is interesting that the syntactic version of the перехождение - transition with the Old Russian prefix пере- is also represented in our language material by its version of the Old Slavic prefix пре-, for example:

Инстинктам этим свойственны перехождения из крайности в крайность (И.И. Мечников. Этюды о природе человека, 1903-1915).

Однако противоборцы сделают нам возражение, что в природе бывает преходжение от одной крайности в другую (А.М. Бриинцев. Слово о всеобщих и главных законах природы, 1799).

Table 4 shows that in the syntactic variants of SPhU the printed media (6 examples) and literature (4 examples) spheres are leading in the number of lexemes-variants.

III. In the Russian discourse, in addition to the existence of variants of SPhU, modifications of the latter are presented. These are such types of modifications as truncation and updating of lexical and grammatical...
composition. When truncating cf.: (Sannikov 1999, 298-300; Mokienko 2012, 101; etc.), in contrast to the variation in the number of components that make up PhU, the dominant member of it is removed, for example:

Ну, Анжелла, вы как всегда — из одной крайности в другую, — мягко и укоризненно проговорила Фаня Моисеевна (Д. Рубина. Камера наезжает, 1993-1994).

In this case the main part of SPhU бросаться is eliminated.

Such contextual use of SPhU is implemented in two spheres of Russian discourse, literature (2.5%) and printed media (2.2%). The truncation of SPhU serves the function of imitating direct communication and a euphemistic function, the function of softening the categorical utterance since the phrase из крайности в крайность creates a negative connotation. At the same time, the truncation of the dominant part of SPhU softens the influencing force of the utterance, cf. (Ivanyan 2012). For example:

У нас всегда все из крайности в крайность: то ограничим количество партий, то наоборот увеличим, потом будем думать, как бороться со спойлерами (Т. Шарапова. Олег Михеев предлагает изменить format парламентских выборов // Известия, 2013.04.11).

The elimination of the dominant part of SPhU mitigates the negative assessment of actions in the country’s domestic policy. Softening also contributes to the use of the word form у нас in the figurative generalising sense by using “we” form, the speaker somehow shares the blame for the unsuccessful actions of politicians.

The second type of modification is to update the lexical and grammar composition of SPhU by replacing some of its components with other words, for example:

Полярность нашего характера в том, чтобы сперва разрушить все свое, всего себя истоптать, изрезать, искромсать свое прошлое, потом впасть в оборотное (По мере таланта // lenta.ru, 2016.07.14).

The example combines a lexical variant (впасть instead of бросаться) with a grammar variant in the category of a perfect-imperfect verbal form. The contextual use of SPhU is based on updating its composition (оборотное instead of другая крайность). This modification of SPhU makes the text more expressive.
IV. The reference to the body material from NCRL allows getting the results of SPhU and its variants, taking into account historical periods.

A modern sociologist, E. Zerubavel believes that the collective image of the past has its own “favourite periods” and “empty” historical periods, peculiar “peaks” and “valleys” (Zerubavel 2003, 31).

NCRL contains examples of SPhU in the literature and scientific spheres, starting from 1769 to 2012. For SPhU, we distinguish high-frequency and low-frequency periods, which are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The frequency of use of SPhU in the literature and scientific spheres

It is noteworthy that SPhU's high-frequency periods coincided with two peak periods of the collective image of the past: the 1860s – the period of reforms and transformations in Russia – and the last decade of the 20th century. In Russian linguoculture, this period has acquired its own PhU with a national-cultural component and is usually called лихие девяностые. On the lexicalisation of this combination, see: (Bonch-Osmolovskaya 2012, 130; Rueangdam 2015, 156). According to the classification of E.F. Arsentieva, this is a PhU of the third level that manifests national and cultural specifics: it reflects the history of the people, according to A.A. Bonch-Osmolovskaya, is a “projection of cultural memory”. Many Russians remember that period as a difficult time.
of economic, social, and ideological shifts, a period of “throwing from extreme to extreme.”

So, two peak periods in the Russian historical memory coincided with the periods of high-frequency existence of SPbU. As shown in Figure 2, both in the literature and scientific spheres, the 1860s and 1990s were characterised by a high SPbU use frequency. The examples with SPbU in these periods do not definitely literally characterise the periods of the 1860s or 1990s, but indirectly still characterise the instability of the described time. Examples from the 1860s:

Если что-нибудь доходит уж до крайности, значит, скоро кончится (Н.Д. Хвощинская. Пансионерка // «Отечественные записки», №3, 1861);

В известных случаях действительно общество впадает в другую крайность: так например, иногда целый город вдруг ни с того ни с сего заражается страшною подозрительностью по поводу какого-нибудь приезжего или какого-нибудь слуха (В.А. Слепцов. Письма об Осташкове, 1863);

Очень часто мы безрассудствуем, мечемся из одной крайности в другую, очень часто даже погибаем; но во всех этих безрассудствах и колебаниях одно остается небезрассудным и неизменным — это жажда подвига (М. Е. Салтыков-Щедрин. Для детей, 1863-1871).

Examples of the 1990s:


Я стал полноценным человеком, перестал бросаться в крайности, я спокоен в этом сумасшедшем мире (В. Рыбаков. Сказка об убежище, 1990).

Меры не знаем ни в чем — постоянно впадаем в крайности (А. Трушкин. 208 избраннých страниц, 1990-2002).

Кроме того, они подчас впадают в крайности, противоположные тем, которые можно встретить в работах советских ученых (Ф. Раскольников. Статьи о русской литературе, 1986-2000).

Many of these examples convincingly illustrate the features of the dashing nineties period.
In general, we can conclude that SPhU with the semantics of the extreme was in demand in the decades of rapid economic and social changes in Russia, in the periods of the peak in Russian history. Different examples with the constituents of the FSCE from other periods characterise the named periods as peaks:

Потом, с начала девяностых, кинулись у нас в другую крайность, переняв у Западной Европы почему-то самое плохое (Л. Безрукова. Погиб под ногами фанатов // Труд-7, 2000.06.01).

Петровская и сталинская модернизации, Октябрьская революция, шоковая терапия 1990-х годов. Благодетельные реформы 1860-х годов, закончившиеся цареубийством и реакцией <...> Крайностям всегда есть место в стране <...> (Я. Миркин. Наша жизнь - эксперимент над собой // Российская газета 04.08.2017).

3. Conclusions

SPhU has revealed its non-trivial results in the Russian discourse in the scientific, literature and printed media spheres. Belonging to the Russian linguistic view of the world due to the component with the semantics of the extreme, SPhU often has the appropriate context verbal markers of Россия, страна, государство, русский, мы, наш. The national-cultural component of SPhU (крайность) is a first-level component of representation of national-cultural specifics. The research undertaken’s relevance and novelty are confirmed by a review of scientific and critical literature, arguments from various sources.

SPhU has a significant number and variety of options that differ by lexical composition, grammatical form, quantitative composition, and syntactic options. Some of the options amount to several hundreds of usage examples. In embodiments, the quantitative composition of SPhU, identified components are the attributes involved in the extension of SPhU, defined by the high-frequency attribute (другая), the dominance of the attributes of printed media and literature spheres corresponds with the decorative function of these fields.

SPhU is represented in the Russian linguoculture in its grammatical variants by an impersonal form of verbs, which conveys the traditional attitude of Russian linguoculture to the world as a set of poorly controlled events by human understanding.

In the syntactic variants of SPhU, a relic of the Old Slavic prefix пере- is revealed as a stylistic variant of the Russian prefix пере-.
The analysis of SPhU’s existence revealed two types of modification: truncation and updating of the lexical and grammatical composition, common in the printed media and literature spheres. The first type performs the functions of imitating direct communication and euphemising utterances, while the second one increases speech expression.

The corpus approach to the phenomenon under study revealed the correlation of the high frequency of SPhU with the periods of significant economic, social and ideological changes in the 1860s and 1990s, the periods of “throwing from extreme to extreme”.

It seems promising to study the specifics of the existence of other PhUs with the semantics of the extreme in Russian discourse, for example, доводить до крайности, according to the algorithm developed to create the whole picture.

References
Ilyin, I.A. Izbrannoe http://project03.ru/cod/ii.php#PART1
Likhachev, D.S. “Nikakoy osoboy missii u Rossii net i ne bylo”. https://www.gazeta.ru/comments/2014/12/24_a_6358085.shtml
CHAPTER EIGHT

TATAR CULTURAL PHRASEOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL UNITS IN THE NOVELS BY GAYAZ ISHAKI “ZULEYKHA” AND AMIRKHAN ENIKI “UNTOLD WILL”, AND THEIR DISCOURSAL BEHAVIOUR

REGINA PLANKINA¹, FANUZA TARASOVA², GULSHAT SAFIULLINA³

1. Introduction

The chapter deals with the triple analysis of Tatar culturally marked idioms in the novels by prominent Tatar writers, “Beauty” by Amirkhan Eniki (1909-2000) and “Zuleykha” by Gayaz Iskhaki (1878-1954). Discoursal behavior of culturally marked idioms, types of context and means of translation are the subject of our research. All phraseological units under study denote lacunar extra linguistic realities, namely, the objects, literary works, concepts of a religious nature, folk songs and traditions, and pragmatic clichés used by the author to contribute to the image of a character in the text of the story. The studied lexical units were selected by sampling method and analyzed using the comparative method. We have studied also the means of translating Tatar culturally marked idioms into English, with the most complete type of presentation culture to an English-speaking reader. As a result of the above research, we came to the conclusion that culturally marked idioms suffer different types of

¹ Kazan Federal University, Russia, regina_pl@mail.ru
² Kazan Federal University, Russia, fhtarasova@yandex.ru
³ Kazan Federal University, Russia, safiullina_gulshat@mail.ru
transformation within the context, and must be translated using an analogue combined with a detailed cultural and historical reference.

Amirkhan Eniki's novel “Beauty” was written in 1964. It describes the trip of three shakirds from their madrasah home to a village for the summer holidays. During the trip, the Shakirds admire the beauty of nature; the author, describing the beauty of the moment, the singing of a lark soaring in the sky, native land, as if preparing us for the perception of eternal beauty. And it appears to the reader in the form of the power of mother’s love. We unwittingly begin to admire the ugly face of the mother of the protagonist Badretdin, after suffering smallpox. Of course, the story of the shakirds, their trip to their native land, to the village, is full of background knowledge about the culture of the Tatar people, and the translators were faced with the tricky task of presenting the material correctly. Let us consider culturally marked lexemes that were identified by the method of continuous sampling from the text of the story. The novel by Amirkhan Eniki “Beauty”, the novel “Untold Will” and naser prose “Poppy Flower” were translated by G. Safiullina into English in 2019 in commemoration of the 110th anniversary of the birth of the outstanding writer, the forefather of romanticism in Tatar literature of the 21st century.

The novel “Zuleykha” by Gayaz Iskhaki was published for the first time in a separate edition in 2019, 100 years after first publication. The writer recreates the path of moral and psychological formation of the personality through the prism of a conflict. The novel “Zuleykha” tells about the tragic events of the 18th-19th centuries when a policy of violent Christianization of the aboriginal peoples was carried out on the territory of the Volga-Ural region. These dramatic events are shown with eyes of an ordinary Tatar woman Zuleykha, who spent twenty years on hard labor, but did not abandon faith. Thus, the author in Zuleykha sees a female mother who retains the iman (faith). Such a woman is the support of the family, children, husband; such a woman preserves and protects the moral foundations of society.

2. Main Part

The study of the culturally marked idioms is focused on three aspects: cultural connotation, discoursal behavior and translation of the idioms.

Yu.M. Lotman defines culture as

“the totality of all non-hereditary information, ways of organizing and storing it” (Lotman 2000, 395).
Ch. Fillmore believes that for the interpretation of different meanings of words we need to turn to the prototype of cultural meaning (Filmore 2008, 113).

O.N. Ivanisheva in her research on the lexicography of culture in a bilingual dictionary notes the role of background knowledge in the correct understanding of the text. The researcher draws a line between the cognitive and communicative characteristics of background knowledge. Cognitive nature, according to O.N. Ivanisheva, is realized in the implicitness of the context of the utterance, and communicative is in its explicit characteristics (Ivanisheva 2006, 13).

Within the framework of this study, we rely on the concept of background regional knowledge introduced by E.M. Vereshagin when studying the ways of representing culturally-marked lexemes in the text of the novel “Beauty” by Amirkhan Eniki (Vereshagin 1969, 112).

O.N. Ivanisheva notes that a culturally marked lexeme in case of absence of a full equivalent, 

“requires the use of several types of translation: translation using the one used in the target language, created by the author, or a descriptive equivalent” (Ivanisheva, 2006, 16).

and identifies four types of text, with a component of the culturally connotated word: neutralizing text, introductory text, stimulating text and stating text.

The neutralizing text includes a culturally connotated word without its background knowledge. The introductory text as a component contains culturally connotated vocabulary as a cultural marker of culture, which implies the reader’s acquaintance with the culture of the people. The stimulating text encourages the acquisition of knowledge of extralinguistic realities. The stating text actualizes the culturally marked vocabulary, fulfilling the task of encyclopedic presentation of information (Ivanisheva 2006, 21-22).

O.N. Ivanisheva in her work studies the following types of commentary: factual, cultural, and situational and gives them the following characteristics. The actual comment, according to the scientist, is close to terminology. The cultural commentary contains extra linguistic information. The situational commentary lacks cultural and historical information about realities; information is provided about the act of speech in a synchronic aspect. Thus, the author sums up that
“a commentary to an equivalent in a bilingual dictionary combines the features of different types of commentary, but should be of a cross-cultural nature” (Ivanisheva 2006, 26-27).

N.A. Lihanova in her study of the lexicography of culture in regional dictionaries makes an attempt to determine the components of the cultural and historical background of the dialect unit. According to the scientist, additional signs are needed for the formation of cultural and historical information at the level of the word of background knowledge. N.A. Likhanova notes that

“without immersion in the regional linguoculture, it is impossible to describe and fix the linguistic features of dialect vocabulary” (Likhanova 2011, 12).

M.S. Ssorina characterizes the linguistic and cultural commentary from the point of view of its vocabulary semantization. She has identified four types of linguistic and cultural commentary: systemic, complex, connotative and usual-behavioral. M.S. Ssorina emphasizes the importance of historical and etymological commenting of non-equivalent words, as well as meaningful commenting on clichés (Ssorina 2011, 14). We used this technique in the translation of Amirkhan Eniki’s story “Beauty”. Here is an example explaining the pragmatic cliché “Baraka Allah!” – “God bless them!” N.T. May identifies the types of equivalence of speech formulas at the level of: 1) the purpose of communication; 2) identification of the situation; 3) messages; 4) statements; 5) linguistic signs (May 1992, 55-57).

M.S. Ssorina in her Ph.D. thesis proposes a classification of cultural commentary in terms of its functionality: 1) significative; 2) comparative; 3) associative, stereotypical, symbolic, traditional, etiquetrical, relational, attitudinal, phonorevellant, casual; 4) connotative, national-conceptual and national-ideological. The author also pays attention to the analysis of the parameters of lexicographic commenting of a culturally marked word at the level of: 1) stylistics; 2) etymology; 3) historical marking; 4) territorial affiliation; 5) social, as well as the analysis of the formal properties of the text of a cultural commentary in grammatical, syntactic and lexical design (Ssorina 2011, 19-20).

Our analysis of discoursal transformations is based on the research of prominent linguists of comparative phraseology, E. Arsenteva and A. Kayumova. They distinguish the following types of phraseological units modification:
1. Substitution or replacement of a PU component or components;
2. Permutation;
3. Addition, including insertion;
4. Deletion of a PU component or components, or ellipsis;
5. Cleft use (according to A. Naciscione), or ‘metasprachliche Kommentierung’ (according to H. Burger);
6. Phraseological allusion, which is closely connected with ellipsis;
7. Phraseological Reiteration;
8. Phraseological Pun;
9. Contamination of two phraseological units;
10. Extended metaphor;
11. Phraseological saturation of discourse (according to A. Naciscione), or complex cases of contextual use of phraseological units (Arsenteva and Kayumova, 2014).

E. Arsenteva and A. Kayumova divide all the aforementioned types of modifications into two types: semantic and structural-semantic. They state that

“semantic modifications, such as phraseological pun and extended metaphor occur without any changes in the form of a PU, they affect only the semantic aspect of the unit. Modifications of the second type involve the change in the structure of a PU thus making some alterations in its meaning” (Arsenteva and Kayumova 2014, 503).

Concerning the problem of translation equivalents, V.N. Komissarov (Komissarov, 1980), A.V. Kunin (Kunin, 1987), Ya.I. Retsker (Retsker, 1982), D.R. Rakhmatullina (Rakhmatullina, 1995), V.I. Khairullin (Khairullin, 1995), N.L. Shadrin (Shadrin, 1991), in their research dealt with the linguistic view of the world and its manifestations in lexemes, phrases and sentences. Three types of translation equivalents were identified by Ya.I. Recker (Retsker, 1982), such as: 1) equivalents; 2) analogs (variant equivalents); 3) adequate substitutions. In the classification of N.L. Shadrin (Shadrin, 1991) are offered the following options: equivalents, analogs, synonymous correspondences, constant lexical correspondence, contextual analogue, calque, occasional lexical correspondence, description as interlanguage equivalents. This classification is taken as a basis for this study.

A. Duval emphasizes the importance of translational equivalents in the transfer of words, since initially users perceive equivalents as synonyms of the head words (Duval 2008, 287).
In our opinion, while translating a text from Tatar into English, a neutralizing text is combined with a stimulating one. Let’s consider an example from the novel “Beauty” by Amirkhan Eniki. The word “шакирд” is translated as “shakird” (шәкерт).

Shakirds (шәкерт) (ʃæˈkert) a student at a madrasah-level Muslim school who studies the basics of Islam, Arabic script, religious scholastic disciplines, and calligraphy. The curriculum may include foreign languages, arithmetic, geography, history, etc. (Eniki 2019, 13).

Similarly the word “медресе” is given in a combination of a neutralizing and a stimulating texts. First its English version “madrasah” is given, then its Tatar version is shown in brackets (мәдрәсә), followed by IPA (international phonetic transcription) mәˈdrasә, and the definition of the notion as “a college for Islamic instruction” (Eniki 2019, 13).

An example of an introductory text is the word “верста” - “verst” (верста) (versˈta), “Russian measure of length, equal to 1.06 km” (Eniki 2019, 13). The Tatar version is given in brackets after the English word, phonetic transcription and the definition of the word completes the cultural reference.

We can classify the lexeme “тары ипi”-“millet bread” as stating text (Eniki 2019, 14). In this case, there is no explanatory comment, the reader understands the meanings of the expression components which describe a new concept for him.

Concerning the discoursal behavior of phraseological units, we observe the following cases:

The phraseological unit “илдә чыпчык үлми” – “a sparrow doesn’t die in his country” in the text is processed with addition of the word “дигәндәй”, which is translated from Tatar into English “as is said”. In our translation we have chosen the extension “A sparrow doesn’t die from hunger in his homeland” and added the component “from hunger” to make the English version more understandable, and the translation of the word “дигәндәй” was performed with the use of the analogue “As the proverb says.”

Илдә чыпчык үлми дигәндәй, безең Бадретдин әдә, бик интегеп, акша киселеп булса да, укуын эңд шуазай алып бара иде (Eniki 1991, 230).

As the proverb says, “A sparrow doesn’t die from hunger in his homeland”. And so it was that our Badretdin, even if he was suffering or had a lack of money, continued to study, and he studied very well. It is a well-known fact that a poor shakird in merciless poverty turns out to be very gifted (Eniki 2019, 14).
The phraseological unit “кияү камчысы” – “wild green onion” itself is used without any changes, as it names an object that is described, and the phrase “дип йортеләр” – “is called” is added.


Badretdin told us that this plant is called “stableman lash” by Bashkirs, as when the buds on its end turn into blue flowers, it resembles a lash with a brush (Eniki 2019, 18).

The phraseological unit “Хөзер Ильяс” is presented in the text with the component “төсле” – “like/as”:


When we entered the house, the first person we saw was an old man, sitting on the sake and leaning against the wall. Like Hazyr Ilyas he had a snow-white beard and was dressed in a snow-white robe and pants. The tubetey on his head, however, looked like a pancake and was bluish black (Eniki 2019, 21).

In the folklore heritage of the Turkic peoples there is an image of an eternally living old man - Khizir Ilyas. In numerous legends, fairy tales, rites of the Turkic-speaking peoples, Khizir Ilyas appears as an eternal traveler, an old wanderer, gifting and punishing. There is a legend that every person sees Khizir Ilyas three times in his life, but does not recognize him. He is either disguised as a beggar or disguised as a wanderer. If you recognize him and ask for happiness, he will make you happy for life, but rarely does anyone succeed. In the traditions of the Tatar people the archetypal image of the Old Sage is realized through the concept of father.

The phraseological unit of religious origin “Baraka Allah!” – “God bless them!” is used in the discourse without any alterations:


We stretched two hands to greet the old man. The old man didn’t move. Badretdin said quickly: “Grandpa, shakirdler want to greet you.”
“Ah, do they, Baraka Allah! (God bless them!) - the old man said. He livened a little, and stretched his weathered big, firm hand. His eyes were open, but he was blind.

We sat and read prayers, and, as shakirds do, put our hands on our knees and sat still for a moment (Eniki 2019, 21).

Another phraseological unit of religious origin “фатиха бирү” – “ask for blessing” has suffered some changes in the discourse, but was translated with the help of the English equivalent.

The noun “фатиха” – “blessing” is used in its suffixal form, meaning “our blessing”, and the verb “сорыйлар” – “are asking” is added. We observe structural-semantic change in this case.


When Badretdin finished playing, we asked permission to pray from the owners. The father rubbed his patched knees, and Badretdin reached for his grandpa and said: “Grandpa, the shakirds are asking for our blessing.”

The grandpa nodded his head and we raised our hands for a prayer (Eniki 2019, 28).

A.V. Kunin singles out borrowings, calques, analogs and lexical substitutions as types of translation of non-equivalent lexical units (Kunin, 1987). In our research, we are of the opinion that the most convenient way to represent Tatar culturally marked units in English is translation by the borrowing method, since this preserves the artistic style of the original language, the reader is immersed into the cultural environment, and cultural commentary allows us to understand the etymology of the word and its extralinguistic characteristics.

For example, “Ayat al-Kursi” is explained as the verse 255 of Surah Al-Bakar, the second Surah of the Quran. The full translation of the prayer into English is provided.

The names of cultural figures are given in English and Tatar versions of the spelling:

Sagit Ramiev (Сәгыйт Рәмиев) Säğit Rämiev. The following is a cultural commentary: (12 February 1880 — 16 March 1926), a Tatar poet, educated in the Tatar Husainia Madrasah and in a Russian school in Orenburg. From 1902 to 1906 he worked as a teacher, and then he moved to Kazan, where he began to work in the newspaper “Tan Yoldyzы”. Since 1922 he lived in Ufa. Ramiev was also involved in translations - he
translated into the Tatar language a number of works by L. N. Tolstoy, N. A. Nekrasov, D. Bedniy, as well as the Marseilleilaise (Eniki, 2019, p.16) (12 февраля 1880 - 16 марта 1926).

Gabdulla Tukay (Габдулла Тукай) Габдulla Tukay (26 April 1886 - 15 April 1913), a great national Tatar poet and is referred as the founder of the National Poetry and its classical style. He became considered as the national poet in his lifetime yet (Eniki, 2019, p.16).

A historical reference to the Great October Revolution is given: The October Revolution, officially known in Soviet historiography as the Great October Socialist Revolution, and commonly referred to as the October Uprising, the October Coup, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Bolshevik Coup or the Red October, was a revolution in Russia led by the Bolshevik Party of Vladimir Lenin that was instrumental in the larger Russian Revolution of 1917–23. It took place through an armed insurrection in Petrograd on 7 November (25 October, old style) 1917.

Tatar household items such as "кумган"-"a wash jug", "а сакә"-"a wide bench", that was used as a table in the daytime and as a bed at night", are also presented in the form of borrowings and are described in the cultural commentary in the footnote at the bottom of the page:

Kumgan (күмган) (кум ˈган) is a narrow-necked jug, a water jug with a spout, a handle and a lid, used in Asia mainly for washing and washing hands, based on the tradition of sending natural needs in the Islamic East. Kumgans were made of clay or metal (brass, silver) (Eniki 2019, 20).

Sake (сәке) (sæˈke) bunks, plank-bed, a typical furnishing of a Tatar village house. A bunk of thick planks, half meter up the floor, was used as a bed at night and as a table in the daytime (Eniki 2019, 21).

While describing the house of shakird Badretdin, A. Eniki mentions the books that were on his shelves: "Бүз егер", "Тутыйнамә", "Ләйлә белән Мәҗнүн", "Каһарман катил" – books, which could be only in the house of educated people. We maintain our system of presenting culturally-marked lexemes through borrowings and a cultural commentary:

"Бүз егер" (Noble Dzhigit) (Бүз егет) Poetic popular romance dastan of Tatar folk art. The widespread distribution of the legend was facilitated by the repeated appeal of Tatar writers Bahawi, Kurmashi to it (Eniki 2019, 24).

"Тутыйнамә" (The Parrot’s Book) (Тутыйнамә) a collection of short stories of didactic, humorous and erotic content, compiled around 1330 by the Indo-Persian writer Nakhshabi, which was popular for several centuries in India and Central Asia (Eniki, 2019, 24).

"Ләйлә белән Мәҗнүн" (Ләйлә белән Мәҗнүн) is a narrative poem composed in 584/1188 by the Persian poet Nizami Ganjavi based on a
semi-historical Arab story about the 7th century Najdi Bedouin poet Qays ibn Al-Mulawwah and his ladylove Layla bint Mahdi (Eniki 2019, 24). “Kaharman Katil” (“The Story of Kaharman”) (Кәһәрман қатыл) a Tatar dastan with its genetic roots goes back to the Persian source “Kaharmannome” known from ancient times. It is known that the ancient Persian monument “Kaharmannome” dates back to the 11th – 13th centuries and arose under the influence of a very ancient Persian epic (Eniki 2019, 24-25).

The image of an intelligent young man is completed by his playing the “кул-кубыз” – “violin”. In the cultural commentary after the borrowing we place the description of the instrument:

Кыл-кубыз (кул кубыз) is an old Turkic stringed string instrument, which was popular among the Bashkir people in old times. The instrument was made from a single piece of wood. An oblong-bucket-shaped case made from a whole diced piece of birch is connected to a bar with a curly head with pegs (Eniki 2019, 25).

In the English translation of the text of the story “Beauty”, we also pay attention to the cultural commentary on Tatar customs. The phrase “the shakirds, having drunk some tea, turned the cups upside down” is commented in a footnote at the end of the page:

A Tatar tradition to turn the cups with their bottoms up when a guest doesn’t want to have any more tea (Eniki 2019, 24).

The analysis of phraseological units in the text of the novel “Zuleykha” by Gayaz Iskhaki, shows that they change semantically within the context of sentences.

It should be noted that faith-based oppositions in Tatar culture are very important, the entire linguistic environment contributes to the author’s intention to show the tragedy of people exposed to violence. The topic of violence is observed in the following contexts.

Phraseological unit “динә төрүргә” – “to keep to one’s faith” has suffered discoursal change and addition of the component “үз” - “own”, and suffix “-ен” - “his/her” and has been made to make the PU more personal:

“Һәркем үз динә төрүргә кирәк. Көчләп урыс итеп булмый, көчләп татар итеп булмый” (Iskhaki 1991, 543).
(Everyone needs to stick to his own religion. It is impossible to become either Russian or Tatar by force) (authors’ translation).

Phraseological unit “Аллаһе тәгелә” – “God forbid” is used without any semantic or structural-semantic changes, as an introduction phrase:

“Аллаһе тәгелә дин дошманына күрсәтмәсен” (Iskhaki 1991, 466).

(God forbid to appear before the enemy of faith) (authors’ translation).

The following example shows that the components of the phraseological unit “жәәнәмгә жибәрәгә” – “send to hell” were transformed by suffixal addition. Suffix “-им”, first person singular, “I will” was added to the verb “жибәрәгә” - “send”, and we observe the lexeme “жибәрим”:


(I will send that devil to hell) (authors’ translation).

We observe that culturally marked Tatar phraseological units in the novels “Untold Will” by Amirkhan Eniki and “Zuleykha” by Gayaz Iskhaki are either used without any transformations, or suffixes are added to the components of phraseological units.

3. Conclusions

In the process of working on the test of translating the novel of the classic of Tatar literature Amirkhan Eniki into English, we developed a system for presenting the culturally marked lexemes of the Tatar language into English using borrowing and cultural commentary in the form of a footnote with a maximum of cultural and historical information that is not available to the English-speaking reader. As a result of the conducted research, we come to the conclusion that culturally marked lexemes should be translated using the mono lexeme equivalent, in mandatory combination with a detailed cultural and historical reference. The results obtained are important for the translation of works written in the Tatar language into foreign languages.

We have come to the conclusion that culturally marked Tatar phraseological units in the novels “Untold Will” by Amirkhan Eniki and “Zuleykha” by Gayaz Iskhaki are either used without any transformations, or suffixes are added to the components of phraseological units.
References


CHAPTER NINE

TRANSFORMATIONS OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

LILIIA MIRGALIMOVA¹,
GULNARA GIMALETDINOVA²,
LILIIA KHALITOVA³

1. Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the transformations of phraseological units in Russian and American political discourse. The aim of the research is to systematize modifications of phraseological units based on the levels of stability developed by Alexander V. Kunin (Kunin 1972). The work reveals the concepts of stability and transformation of phraseological units and provides a classification according to the levels of stability of phraseological units. In this chapter we study transformations of phraseological units in political discourse, in particular the forms of violation of the lexical stability of phraseological units in Russian and English government blogs.

The relevance of the work is due to the need to combine phraseological transformations into a single system. Transformations of phraseological units, marked by stability and reproducibility and frequently used by authors, still present a complex phenomenon.

In the research we, firstly, analyze the theoretical background and main approaches to the study of phraseological transformations highlighting the issue of stability of phraseological units, and secondly, on the basis of the revealed transformations, systematize the methods of phraseological

¹ Kazan Law Institute, Russia, lilya_mirg1991@mail.ru
² Kazan Federal University, Russia, gim-nar@yandex.ru
³ Kazan Federal University, Russia, lilia_khalitova@mail.ru
transformations according to the levels of stability suggested by Alexander V. Kunin (Kunin 1972).

For the purpose of the study the following methods were used: the method of continuous sampling from the blogs of the governments of the Russian Federation and the United States (The Russian Government (http://government.ru/news/) and The White House (https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog), the method of definitional analysis (the use of dictionary definitions), contextual analysis method, and the method of phraseological description. The theoretical basis for the study are the papers on general linguistics and lexicology by such researchers as Viktor V. Vinogradov (Vinogradov 1977), Ferdinand de Saussure (Saussure 1998), studies on phraseology by Veronika N. Telia (Telia 1966), Alexander V. Kunin (Kunin 1972), Luiza K. Bayramova (Bayramova 1982), Elena F. Arsenteva (Arsenteva 1989), Vladimir I. Maksimov (Maksimov 2004), Anatoliy N. Baranov and Dmitriy O. Dobrovolsky (Baranov 2008), Anna F. Artemova (Artemova 2009), Yuliya A. Larionova, (Larionova 2014), and others.

The practical significance of the study lies in the fact that the suggested systematization of transformations is applicable for their further classification, for studying the mechanisms of transformations, when comparing transformations with invariant use.

2. Theoretical studies of language and politics

In the philosophical tradition, there is a fundamental approach to the study of language and politics. This is emphasized in the famous definition of Aristotle who states that human nature is not only to live in a polis, but also in a unique ability to speak (Chilton, Schäffner, 2002, 1).

It is taken for granted by linguists and discursive analysts that communication is more than just passing a ‘message’ from sender to recipient. However, there are different points of view regarding the influence of language on the style of discourse, and vice versa:

1. Language is a neutral resource, and sociopolitical goals appear only at the level of discourse. There are strategies at the discourse level.
2. The language is functionally structured to fulfill sociopolitical goals, fully or partially. There are strategies at the level of discourse, the choice of linguistic forms is not arbitrary, but functionally justified (Chilton, Schäffner, 2002, 24).

Since the 1970s, a number of linguistic theories related to a broader scientific field of cognitive science have tried to establish the connection
between linguistic structure and discourse and mental representations (images). Some of the versions applied to political discourse are based on psychological research, for example, the theory developed by Teun A. van Dijk (Van Dijk 2011). His approach illustrates how knowledge of politics, political discourse, and political ideology is retained in short-term and long-term memory, which in turn is subdivided into personal (or episodic) memory and social (or semantic) memory. Short-term memory deals with the ongoing processes of ‘discourse production’ and understanding, the creation of current mental models of content and context. Long-term knowledge is held as public information about ideas, values and experiences as well as personal past experiences. Knowledge stored in long-term memory is often referred to as a schemata. It is useful to consider both programs and systems as mental representations stored in long-term memory based on the experience of the physical, social and linguistic worlds. Programs can be called procedural: they store knowledge about the sequence of actions and the actors, which are parliamentary processes, holding meetings or ordering food in a restaurant. Programs are the ‘domain of experience’ of a particular culture.

Discourse consists of statements created and interpreted in relation to the situation in which the speaker and the interpreter are involved. This involvement can be viewed metaphorically revealing the attitude of the speaker and/or listener to the interlocutor, location, space of time when the utterance is taking place, and the stage of the discourse. For example, Stephan Elspaß examines phraseological units in parliamentary discourse, in particular, the role of phraseology in the language of politics based on post-war parliamentary debates in the German Bundestag (Elspaß 2002, 92-94).

The factors that are less frequently taken into account include differences between language users (age, gender, education, and knowledge of languages), differences between the perception of native and foreign idioms, familiar and unfamiliar expressions, consideration of modern or retrospective forms of language (Omazic 2008, 69)⁴.

---

⁴ Additional relevant factors that are often neglected are individual differences between language users (age, sex, education, knowledge of the language(s)), processing of native vs. foreign language idioms, processing of familiar vs. unfamiliar expressions and real time vs. retrospective processing.
3. Types of modifications of phraseological units in political discourse

The study of occasional modifications of phraseological units in political discourse is an important task of phraseological stylistics. The term “occasional modifications” was introduced to distinguish the way idioms are “remodeled” in a particular context, as well as to distinguish between the terms “occasional modifications” and “invariants”. The most common types of modifications of phraseological units in political speech are extension of a phraseological unit, substitution of a phraseological unit component(s), deletion, and contamination.

Extension of a phraseological unit with other lexical components is considered the easiest way of modification. Substitution can be applied to any of the components, ranging from a single phoneme, a morpheme, a word or a phrase. Deletion is omission of one or more obligatory components. Contamination of two phraseological units occurs by combining them in such a way that they share one common element, without omitting the rest. When two phraseological units are mixed, the expressions are combined by omitting one or more components challenging phraseological unit recognition (Elspaß 2002, 106).

Modifications of phraseological units are observed not only in the works of writers and poets, but also in the works of journalists and government representatives who write in blogs, give interviews, speak at the meetings etc. The language of blogs includes news columns, articles, as well as recordings of monologues (addresses, statements), dialogues, polylogues (meetings), and video recordings.

The originality of the new functional varieties – cinema, television, news in the Internet, for example, blogs, is largely due to the specificity of electronic mass communication in the transmission of information through language (Maksimov 2004, 53). The language of blogs is a combination of oral and written speech, and that determines the style of the language of government blogs (Maksimov 2004, 44). Thus, the language of blogs belongs to the publicist style.

In government blogs we can observe professionalisms in the political, economic, juridical, and legislation spheres. These are mostly clichés and

“each sphere creates for itself special and specific means of expression” (Vinokur 1959, 91).

Traditionally, phraseological units are viewed as stable formations, however, many of them are characterized by active modifications. All the
examples of phraseological transformations analyzed in the paper can become part of general vocabulary, and they are transformations only at a given moment, at the time of their study. Frequent repetitions in speech can contribute to the transition of modifications to the class of general vocabulary, since

“an evolutionary fact is always preceded by a multitude of similar facts in the sphere of speaking. So, in the history of any innovation there are two distinct moments: 1) when it sprang up in individual usage and 2) when it became a fact of language outwardly identical but adopted by the community” (Saussure 1998, 97).

Phraseological units are modified to achieve specific goals, such as ironic or humorous effect, surprise effect, filling in contextual pauses, and creating pun in speech. If the reasons for the modifications are unclear or hidden, the recipient can perceive the modification as a mistake (Omazic 2008, 74).

4. Transformations of phraseological units in English and Russian political blogs

In this section we study transformations of phraseological units in blogs of the government of the Russian Federation (The Russian Government) and the United States (The White House).

1. The following types of violation of lexical stability were considered: substitution of a phraseological unit component(s), attributive (adverbial) extension, deletion of components.

Substitution of a phraseological unit component is one of the most commonly used transformation methods which presents a substitution of one or more components of a phraseological unit, provided that the phraseological unit itself remains recognizable. Substitution usually occurs with the same part of speech, however, it is impossible with some of types of idioms (lexical idioms) and phrasal verbs. The less metaphorical expression is, the more likely it is to replace a component without losing its semantic connection with the original phraseological unit. Below we analyze some cases of transformed phraseological units with component substitution.

“President also took part in a fireside hangout not too long ago.”

The sentence illustrates the substitution of a component in the phraseological unit “fireside chat” which is used to characterize the
American president’s conversation with the public (on radio and television). The component “chat” is substituted by the component “hangout”. The colloquial word “hangout” changes the style of the original phraseological unit and makes the sentence sound more up-to-date, however, preserving the original denotative meaning of ‘president’s conversation with the public’. As a result, the character of this very conversation changes: firstly, we can assume that it was a personal meeting of the president with the population, not a conversation on radio and television, and secondly, the transformed version indicates that the president and his people may communicate on an equal footing.

According to Alina M. Melerovich and Valery M. Mokienko,

“the use of phraseological units is often accompanied by the actualization of certain culturally-marked semantic components by including words that explicate and clarify these components in their composition” (Melerovich, Mokienko 1999, 63).

In the following example we can observe actualization of the components by means of substitution.

“Birthdays are truly special occasions, celebrating a milestone of achievement.”

The phraseological unit “pass a milestone” with the meaning “cross the line” was transformed into “celebrate a milestone”. This is an example of component substitution due to which the conventional meaning of phraseological unit retains and additional meaning “to celebrate overcoming a certain obstacle, or to move to a new level” appears. This substitution does not perform any stylistic function, but adds a new meaning.

To avoid the repetition of the phrase “to take steps/a step” with the meaning “perform an action in order to achieve something” the noun “step” is replaced by the phrase “the mantle of labor and environmental protections”:

“The TPA legislation in Congress will require future Administrations to take the mantle of labor and environmental protections that the administration is fighting for.”

In the following example, we observe the transformation of a Russian colloquial phraseological unit “на птичьих правах” (Eng. “(live) on sufferance, without any right”, lit. “on bird’s rights”). The component “bird’s” in the given context is replaced by the phrase “poor Liza” (an
allusion to the character of the story “Poor Liza” by Nikolai M. Karamzin):

“...не спеши приглашать к столу европейских держав как равноправного партнера..., а целенаправленно держит ее на правах бедной Лизы” (Eng. ...is in no hurry to invite European powers to the table as an equal partner... but purposefully keeps them on the rights of poor Liza).

Let us consider another example:

“Планы по росту отечественной экономики могут оказаться неосуществимыми хотя бы из-за нарастающего бегства из страны капитала. Выступая в Совете Федерации, замглавы Минэкономразвития предположил, что чистый отток капитала из РФ в 2012 году может достичь 65 млрд долларов” (Eng Schemes for Russian economy growth might become impracticable at least because of the flight of money abroad. Making a speech at Federation Council the deputy head of the Ministry of Economic Development made a supposition that capital outflow might count 65 billion dollars).

The component “отток” (Eng. “outflow”) in the Russian phraseological unit “отток капитала” (Eng. “capital outflow”) is substituted by a word “бегство” (Eng. “flight”), which, due to personification, intensifies the utterance.

The next example illustrates the transformation of the Russian phraseological unit “давать зеленую улицу” (Eng. “a green light all the way, a clear path without obstacles or delays”, lit. “a green street”). The component “улица” (Eng. “street”) is substituted by a noun “дорога” (Eng. “road”), making a transformed phraseological unit “давать зеленую дорогу” (Eng. “give a green light”, lit. “give a green road”).

“Там, где достаток пониже, естественно, есть сложности, поэтому мы стараемся учитывать все это и в любом случае давать зеленую дорогу” (When we consider lower income societies we usually take into consideration all the factors to give these people green road into future).

Attributive (adverbial) extension. Violation of lexical stability occurs in the following statements in which attributive expansion is observed:

“The president signed a new executive order – the first part of the new buysecure initiative – that takes critical steps to protect consumers’ financial security and improve confidence in the marketplace.”
“...and called on congress again to enact overdue cybersecurity legislation that will protect Americans, particularly by clarifying companies’ obligations when sensitive data is breached.”

Attributive extension is possible in collocations of this kind, since they are weakly idiomatic. The use of the semantic component in collocations in the direct meaning allows us to apply epithets, which dilute the typical clichéd political speech. However, the epithet, once uttered, is picked up by the audience and repeated in its unchanged form, and the adjective, which previously gave a stylistic color to the statement, becomes clichéd and no longer stylistically marked. We can observe examples of this kind in the following statement:

“Last week, the administration took important steps toward LGBT equality and fairness....”

Let us consider examples of attributive extension in the Russian language:

“Мы видим, что результаты приносят добрые плоды” (Eng. We can observe the results bearing good fruit).

The Russian phraseological unit “приносить плоды” (Eng. “bear fruit”, lit. “bring the fruits”) with the meaning “produce successful results” is extended with the adjective “добрый” (Eng. “good”).

The examples below illustrate attributive extension of the Russian phraseological unit “принять меры” (Eng. “take a step/steps”) with the meaning “perform an action in order to achieve something”. The collocation is extended with the word “исчерпывающие” (Eng. “comprehensive”) for intensification of the utterance.

“...мы хотели бы проинформировать наших европейских и американских коллег об итогах этого расследования, с тем чтобы действительно всем было понятно, что мы приняли исчерпывающие меры по восстановлению надежности нашей
Transformations of Phraseological Units in Political Discourse

167

рахетной техники” (Eng. We would like to inform our European and American colleagues about the results of investigation to make clear that we took all possible steps to provide safety of missilery).

Deletion of a component is another type of lexical stability violation, however, it is not always stylistically marked:

“Against that backdrop, a bipartisan bill was submitted Thursday to both the House and Senate that would grant the President so-called trade promotion authority as the administration pursues the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership, a free-trade agreement between the United States and 11 nations representing 40 percent of the world’s output of goods and services…”

In this example, in the phraseological unit “against the backdrop of crisis” which means “in the background of crisis” the component “crisis” is deleted. We do not observe stylistic changes in the utterance caused by the deletion of a component, which emphasizes the idea that political speech is highly clichéd.

In the following example, the last component of the Russian phraseological unit "ложка дегтя в бочке меда” (Eng. “a fly in the ointment”, lit. “a spoon of tar in a barrel of honey”) is omitted, and the phrase sounds like "ложка дегтя” (lit. "a spoon of tar”). The deletion of a component significantly softens the severity of the statement, but gives it a tone of discontent:

“Но общий объем, конечно, там не превышает 1%, поэтому это не сильно портит картину общую. Но даже один вот такой пример – это, безусловно, ложка дегтя определенная. Так что придается возвращать старые процедуры, которые смогут усиливать контроль” (Eng. The average amount is not higher than 1%, that is why it is not influencing statistics negatively, but even one such an instance can certainly become a fly in the ointment).

2. At the grammatical level violation of the morphology of a phraseological unit can be observed. The following examples illustrate cases of adding prefixes which leads to stylistic changes. Let us consider the context where a negative prefix “non-” produces a surprise effect:

“I guess you can say it exceeded my non-expectations,” says Audrey.”

Similar modifications with prefixes can be observed in the Russian language:
“Даже самой качественной макроэкономической политики бывает недостаточно, если **назревли** структурные **проблемы**, а у нас они, по сути, **неперезрели**” (Eng. Even the highest quality macroeconomic policy is not enough if structural problems are ripe, and in our country they are, in fact, overripe).

Dissatisfaction with the current situation is expressed by the following use of the Russian phraseological unit “назревшая проблема” (Eng. “pressing problem”, lit. “ripe problem”) with the meaning “a problem that became inevitable”. The use of the prefix “over-” suggests transformational modification and gradation.

In the next example we observe the antonymization of the meaning of a phraseological unit by adding the prefix “counter-” to the noun “гарантию” in the collocation “to issue a guarantee”, Rus. “выдавать гарантию”:

“В данном случае мы закрываем, по сути дела, **выдаем контргарантию** за ...” (Eng. In this case we are actually finishing up business providing counter-guarantee for ...).

3. The study shows that both proverbial phraseological units and motivated phraseological units can be subjected to structural and semantic stability violation. In the following example the phraseological unit “break a vicious circle” can be transformed to “get out of the treadmill” which means “to leave the vicious circle”:

“The question gets you out of the treadmill.”

In this example the speaker emphasizes that an ordinary question can snatch anyone out of the routine of life, make one think about his values and priorities.

The violation of semantic stability is represented by the rethinking of the meaning and the literalization of the meaning. The rethinking of the meaning occurs while the metaphoricity of the statement is preserved. The literalization of the meaning is created by releasing the direct meaning of the phraseological unit. In the following example we can observe the rethinking of the meaning when the phraseological unit “zeros & ones” is used in an unusual context: “zeros and ones” does not mean a binary coding system, but is an appeal to a group of computer scientists:

“**Zeros & Ones** (a group of budding computer scientists) ...”
Another example of meaning rethinking is illustrated by the sentence where the phraseological unit “bring to life” refers to the word “photography”, which recalls the unpleasant memories of the speaker:

“In later years, as I became interested in photojournalism, it was the photographs that brought that awful day to life for me...”

We shall now consider more examples demonstrating violation of semantic stability by rethinking of meaning in English:

“Take a look at Marilu’s and Kendra’s stories to see exactly what happens when you give hardworking Americans the leg up they deserve.”

“Working Americans who are out there struggling every day, doing the right thing, supporting their families and trying to get a leg up in this new economy.”

“...any American worker looking to invest time and money in training can go online and see which programs have the best chance at giving them a leg up...”

Now we shall consider the violation of semantic stability in the Russian language:

“...у нас есть хорошая возможность не только провести заседание Союзного Совмина и поговорить об интеграционных делах, включая Союзное государство, но и просто в очередной раз сверить часы по всей совокупности отношений...” (Eng. ... we have a wonderful opportunity to hold a collaborative negotiation not only on the questions of integration but also on the possibility to synchronize watches...).

“Понятно, что это довольно короткие встречи, они не сопровождаются подписанием большого количества документов, но это сверка часов, это возможность что-то подтолкнуть...” (Eng. It is obvious that such meetings do not result in signing a large number of agreements, but it is a to synchronization of watches and a possibility to give start to new projects...).

The metaphorical use of the Russian expression “сверить часы” (Eng. “to synchronize watches”) and the phraseological unit “сверка часов” (Eng. “synchronization of watches”) in a political context is associated with the English combinations “to compare notes” or “coordinate positions”. “Synchronization of watches” means “exchanging opinions on current economic and other situations”, “comparing points of view / level
of development, etc.”. In political discourse, this phraseological unit is used to convey the essence of meetings, conferences and other business meetings in a laconic way.

The context below is another example of violation of semantic stability based on metaphorical use of the phraseological unit “стоять на краю пропасти” (Eng. “to stand on the brink of a precipice/at the edge of abyss”):

“Дальнейшие действия руководства, в том числе военные, привели страну к той экономической пропасти, над которой она стоит сейчас” (Eng. “Further actions of the government, including the military actions, led the country to the economic abyss over which it now stands”)

The use of the Russian phraseological unit in relation to the economic situation of the country is metaphorical.

4. Another type of modification is violation of the stability of use, for example, the use of interjectional phraseological units in narrative speech as epithets. In this case, all words of this phraseological unit are frequently written with a hyphen:

“It’s a ‘pinch-me’ moment – every time.”

Interjectional phraseological units are inherent in colloquial speech and are relatively rare in literary prose. In discourse in their conventional usage, they are found only in direct speech: “Pinch me!”

The use of interjectional phraseological units varies, its components can be represented both by hyphenated spelling and by separate spelling, but still they demonstrate the unity of the idea. In the following examples the phraseological unit “All hands on deck!” with the meaning “a particular situation requires everyone to work hard in order to achieve an aim” which was originally used in a naval sphere.

“As the President said, it will take a concerted, "all-hands-on-deck" effort to change the odds for these communities.”

“The President has emphasized the need for an “all hands on deck” approach to promoting pollinator health, including engagement of citizens and communities and the forging of public-private partnerships.”

Let us consider the following example:
“Randy and Eliza practice what they preach – their employees enjoy these and other important benefits...”

“Practice what you preach!” is a proverb, the communicative function of which is advice or instruction, however, in this example it is a statement.

5. Violation of structural stability. Structural stability presupposes a fixed structure of components, one of the violations of which may be the use of inversion by the author:

“It would also level the playing field – and when the playing field is level, American workers always win.”

In the same sentence, standard and inverse use of the phraseological unit “level playing field” is presented which means “a field with equal playing conditions.” The phraseological unit is used in the situation when the market with the same legislative conditions and equal opportunities for competition is created for all market participants. When regulating foreign economic relations, the premise of the need to create equal competitive conditions is often used to justify protectionist measures, the use of which is explained by the need to compensate for the “unfair” advantages of foreign companies. In this example, inversion does not pursue a stylistic function, but is applied to avoid repetition.

Use of the passive voice or passivization is one of the most common ways to violate structural stability:

“I am proud to reflect on the historic steps this Administration has taken to afford greater protections for this community in just the past few months.”

Considering the following example, we observe that when contamination occurs, structural, semantic and lexical stability are violated:

“I think the trade agenda is another gust of wind behind our sail in Baltimore.”

In this example we observe contamination of two phraseological units “gust of wind” and “a full sail of tail wind” which results in the intensification of the whole sentence.
Similar to the English example, contamination serves to intensify the utterance in the Russian language:

“Это они все придумали, создали головную боль себе и нам, конечно, определенные проблемы доставили” (Eng. They invented it all, created a headache for themselves and, of course, brought us certain problems).

The context above illustrates contamination of two phraseological units: “создать себе проблемы” (Eng. “create a problem for yourself”) and “головная боль” (Eng. “headache”).

5. Conclusions

The analysis of modifications of phraseological units both in English and Russian political blogs revealed transformations at lexical, grammatical, and structural levels. The authors identified the following transformations of phraseological units typical of political discourse. Transformations at the level of lexical stability include component substitution, attributive (adverbial) extension, deletion of the component(s), and contamination. At grammatical level we discovered violation of morphological stability in form of adding prefixes. Proverbial phraseological units and motivated phraseological units can be subjected to structural and semantic stability violation. As for the violation of structural stability in political blogs inversion, passivization, and contamination are most common. The violation of semantic stability includes rethinking that occurs when the metaphoricity of the statement is preserved, and literalization of the meaning which is achieved by the use of the direct meaning of the phraseological unit.

We see the prospects for the further study, firstly, in the expansion of the classification of transformations for a more detailed study of their mechanisms and nature, then, in the possibility of the transition of transformed phraseological units into invariant ones and observation of such transitions in dictionaries and their further recording in them as such, and in the possibility of using this study to prove the presence of transformations along with the stability of a phraseological unit in all languages containing phraseological units in their system.
References


The White House. [https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog](https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog)


CHAPTER TEN

METAPHORICAL LANGUAGE IN JOURNALISTIC TEXTS: AN ANALYSIS OF ITS POTENTIALITY

MARIA LUISA ORTIZ ALVAREZ

It is through language that the beliefs, practices, and values of tradition are formulated, conveyed, spread, reproduced.¹

1. Introduction

Language, in addition to being considered as an institution and an instrument of communication, serves as a support for thought and exerts an aesthetic function; it is easily confused with communicative and expressive functions. At the same time, it is articulated with experiences to be transmitted and needs that are intended to be revealed to others through the analysis of a series of units, each of which possesses a vocal and a sense; it is the way in which the common experience of all members of a given linguistic community is ordered. Thus, our objective is to briefly analyse metaphorical language as a linguistic resource that reflects and determines sociocultural thinking, language practices and values, as well as its dynamics, and the enormous potential and power within journalistic discourse.

2. Metaphorical language in journalistic texts

Metaphor is considered an important resource in the elaboration of persuasive discourse and in the art of convincing in political discourse, for example. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) made a great contribution to cognitive

¹ University of Brasília, Brazil: marialuisa.ortiz@gmail.com
² The translations of the quotations into other languages are my own.
linguistics by focusing on the conceptual dimension of metaphor, which, in the authors' opinion, is essentially a figure of thought and not just a language. Thus, conceptual metaphors support a series of expressions that do not even seem to be metaphorical in nature, as they are so ingrained in everyday language (Coelho 2000). In the theory of the conceptual metaphor, a direct relationship between thought, language, and reality is established. Thus, metaphor as a figure of thought is part of ordinary language and a cognitive resource in a process in which experiences are cognitively elaborated from others that already exist at the conceptual level. It maintains an intrinsic relationship with the production of meanings, where beliefs and assumptions also play an important role in the metaphorical process, as they are ways to construct subjective and social experiences from others that have already been legitimized.

Figurative language, where metaphor gains space, is the result of the use of words and phrases in a more distant sense from their fundamental meaning, so that the involved words have special connotations reflecting the affection and intentionality of the one who speaks (Ortiz Alvarez 2000). Therefore, it is bound closely to connotations.

The figurative sense focuses on the degree of lexicalization and the types of combinations of the constituent elements. The existence or non-existence of the literal sense depends on the type of syntactic relationships between the constituents and the referential universe represented by their combination of constituent elements. The lack of literal meaning presupposes that the expression departs from the structure of the language, thereby subverting the syntactic construction and semantic combination of their constituents. For example, “jogar a toalha” (to throw in the towel), “to give up”; “estar com a faca e o queijo na mão” (to have the upper hand), “being in a favorable condition to accomplish something”; “soltar os cachorros” (to lash out at someone), “to lose patience, to scream, to fight”; “descascar o abacaxi” (handle a hot potato), “to solve a problem, a difficult situation”; “quebrar a cara” (to fall flat), “to have a frustrated plan, to suffer from a disappointment, to get hurt, to let yourself down, to get angry, to fail, to miss”; “abrir os olhos” (to open one’s eyes), “to be attentive, to observe, to perceive”; and “ficar de braços cruzados” (to stand with arms crossed), “to give up the battle for what was intended”. Each time its meaning becomes a substance with a new form and has no other possible existence besides being this substance (Hjelmslev 1975, 57). It is important to emphasize that the change in meaning occurs in different speech acts, as well as in different universes of discourse. In this sense, Orlandi (1999) states that meaning is related to its historical thickness and
its permanent being in motion; hence, its opacity. It is in the relations of metaphor (transference) that meaning is produced.

The press is not only a vehicle of information, but also one of action and influence. A newspaper, for example, is able to create the necessary environment for its audience in order to fulfil its desired purpose. Often, in a given journalistic article, there is a confluence of meanings as we will see in the following example where the confluence of meaning is between a popular saying and a statement of the industry as well as between this and the journalist’s point of view. This example centers on the exploitation of an expression from national folklore, “cat by hare” meaning to be deceived or to buy something thinking it is something else. It is presented in headlines and conveys the dimension of the problem analyzed in detail throughout the text.

In this line of thought, according to Ortiz Alvarez,

*The journalistic style, although it has no commitment to aesthetics, needs to draw attention to the news by using mechanisms such as metaphor in its headlines. The more intriguing the headline, the greater the chances of winning over the reader.* (Ortiz Alvarez 2017, 11)

Exemplo: Computador nacional é “*gato por lebre*”, reclamam indústrias. (Folha de São Paulo, 26/06/91)

Example: National computer is “*buying a pig in a poke*” complain industries. (Folha de São Paulo, 26/06/91)

3. Analysis

Our research assumes a qualitative/interpretive approach because it describes and interprets metaphorical expressions in newspaper texts where there is a persuasive, ironic, or political discourse behind the role of the enunciator—in this case, the journalist. Denzin and Lincoln (2006) comment that qualitative research is a localized activity that locates the observer in the world and consists of a set of material and interpretive practices that give visibility to the world in a series of representations. The selected texts were extracted from newspapers with a large circulation in which metaphorical expressions that are used in real life appear in the written language, so that this study can perform a contextual discursive-pragmatic analysis of them. In order to understand their meaning, the expressions were analysed contextually. This evidences the undeniable and precious contribution made by the texts from the researched newspapers. The corpus used in the present study consists of a representative sampling
of metaphorical expressions, with data collected from excerpts from newspapers, including *Folha de São Paulo*. It is important to highlight that we have analyzed the content and the use of phraseology in the texts, but not the way the news was approached.

*Exemplo*: Como as regras da Organização Mundial do Comércio exigem decisões consensuais, tudo parou, a ponto de o diretor-geral da OMC, o brasileiro Roberto Azevêdo, ter chegado a jogar a toalha. (Folha de São Paulo, 13/11/2014)

*Example*: As the rules of the World Health Organization require consensual decisions, everything stopped, to the point that the Director General of the WHO, the Brazilian Roberto Azevêdo, *threw in the towel*. (Folha de São Paulo, 13/11/2014)

*Exemplo*: Azevêdo chegou a dizer, em reuniões internas, que o impasse levaria a organização que dirige não para a beira do abismo, mas para dentro dele. (Folha de São Paulo, 13/11/2014)

*Example*: Azevêdo even said in internal meetings that the impasse had led the organization not to the edge of the abyss, but into it. (Folha de São Paulo, 13/11/2014)

Examples 1 and 2 belong to the same news published in the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* in 2014; it describes the decision of the then President of the World Health Organization. The Brazilian, Roberto Azevedo, who was elected as head of the entity in 2013 and whose mission was to restore the credibility of the World Health Organization, ended up almost giving up the position because the World Health Organization failed to close a trade agreement and, according to the member countries, their governments faced an unprecedented debate in the 20 years of the entity. The news also uses the expression “the edge of the abyss”, which portrays the institution’s crisis that Azevêdo intended to rectify. Thus, the expression “throw in the towel” indicates Azevêdo’s withdrawal from office, and the expression “the edge of the abyss” refers to the entity’s chaotic situation that led him to give up.

*Exemplo*: O ministro de Minas e Energia Eduardo Braga disse nesta segunda-feira (2) que não ficará de braços cruzados frente às denúncias de corrupção... (Folha de São Paulo, 03/03/2015)
Example: Minister of Mines and Energy, Eduardo Braga said on Monday (2) that they will not stand with arms crossed in the face of allegations of corruption... (Folha de São Paulo, 03/03/2015)

Exemplo: Não podemos nos permitir ficar de braços cruzados, diz Biden sobre economia dos Estados Unidos. (Jornal Estado de Minas, 14/01/2021).

Example: We cannot afford to sit idly by, says Biden about the United States economy. (Jornal Estado de Minas, 14/01/2021).

The metaphorical expression DOES NOT stand idly by in both examples, as it has a positive connotation. The first example shows that the Minister will take certain measures to combat corruption. In the second case, the President of the United States has decided to invest in employment and racial equality because, according to him, this initiative “will avoid economic damage in the long term”: that is, if arms are crossed before this situation is addressed it will mean giving up trying to solve some persistent problem. Therefore, it is necessary to make a decision, to take measures, and to achieve a certain goal.

Exemplo: Presidente do TCE rasga seda para elogiar transparência de governo. (Estadão, 24/02/2021)

Example: TCE president refers to the government’s transparency in excessively flattering terms. (Estadão, 24/02/2021)

The word “flatters” is used when someone overpraises another person. It emerged from the theatrical work of the well-known Rio playwright Luís Carlos Martins Pena. In his play, there was a fabric salesman, who worked with silk and who took advantage of his profession to court the young women buying his product. As a consequence, he praised them in an extremely exaggerated way. One character noticed the boy’s second thoughts and then retorted with the following phrase: “Do not flatter.” The intention was to demonstrate his impatience in the face of flattery; after all, if he continued, he would lose his client as well as the possible flirtation.

Exemplo: Lula diz que a declaração de Dilma sobre a compra da refinaria de Pasadena pela Petrobrás, na qual ela reconhece que aprovou um relatório falho, “foi um tiro no pé”. (Jornal Super Notícia. Belo Horizonte, 10/04/2014).
Example: Lula says Rousseff's statement about Petrobras' purchase of the Pasadena refinery, in which she acknowledges that she approved a flawed report, "was a shot in the foot." (Jornal Super Notícia. Belo Horizonte, 10/04/2014).


Example: “That’s what friends are for.” Labor Minister Francisco Dornelles employed the wife of the president of a federal authority in Sebrae but he had previously spoken ill of this. The ungrateful patron also did not hesitate to use a bus from Sebrae and children's animators to celebrate his daughter's birthday in the interior of Rio de Janeiro. And he also employed the son-in-law of an illustrious TVE director. (Jornal O Dia, 16/11/2001).

*SEBRAE: Serviço Brasileiro de apoio às micro e pequenas empresas, uma entidade privada, sem fins lucrativos para capacitação e promoção do desenvolvimento, criado para dar apoio aos pequenos negócios.
SEBRAE: Brazilian service to support micro and small enterprises; a private, non-profit entity for training and the promotion of development created to support small businesses.

Irony is a phenomenon that can lean on sarcasm or humor. In the two previous examples, the use of the expressions “that’s what friends are for” and “it was a shot in the foot” have an ironic connotation. They are sarcastic and indicate the inconvenient degree of intimacy between the characters referred to in the speech of the text through quotation marks. The presence of irony is indicated by adopting quotation marks to highlight a quick speech by the quoted announcer and the enunciator who represents it. The metaphorical expression “was a shot in the foot”, which is placed in quotes, has an ironic tone; it means committing an act that has the potential to harm to yourself and that you have likely been advised against. The expression also intends to mitigate the evil. But, in a certain context, it expresses the contrary or something different from what it means. The metaphorical expression “that’s what friends are for” is usually used to emphasize that true friends provide solidarity in difficult moments. But, in this specific case, the metaphorical expression has a sarcastic, ironic tone, because the expression spoken ill, which means that someone speaks very badly of another person, follows it and, in this text, it
indicates abuse, because the person has taken advantage of his friend’s favor to give his wife a job in addition to other benefits in the name of friendship.

Example: Football, money, and power are flourished from the same bag! (Jornal Super Notícia, Caderno de Esportes, 29/08/14)

In the metaphorical expression, “floured from the same bag”, the variation in the degree of the word “flour” intensifies the negative attribute that is given to football. “Floured from the same bag” infers that no one lends in the world of football. Therefore, the expression has a pejorative value. Usually, good flour is placed in different bags to bad flour. In this type of expression, a comparison is made to imply that good is aligned with good and bad with bad.

The examples selected for analysis show that the metaphor is responsible for the transposition of the meaning of the idiomatic expressions presented above. This occurs as a result of the process of the transposition of the literal meaning to a plane of representation, which thereby assumes a figurative meaning. It is necessary to highlight that the use of idiomatic expressions in journalistic language cannot be a reason for the text’s loss of prestige because we believe that these units are used for the creative and original form of their metaphors.

Metaphors constitute the figurative path of journalistic text, and present power structures characterized by persuasion and manipulation mechanisms with the modalities of power-to-want and power-to-know, according to Pais (1999). Thus, for interpretation, it is necessary to assign meanings, as well as establish the relations between the text, the context, and the author of the text.

Often, words in a figurative sense can have a sarcastic, ironic meaning; others lead to possible polemics, transferring the responsibility for their interpretation and the evaluation of their adequacy to the audience. It is a simplification of reality through discourses characterized by their objectivity and ambiguity, such as those shown in slogans through the use of metaphors, idiomatic expressions, and other phraseologies.

Thus, phrases and words are updated and manifested in the utterance of a concretely realized discourse that results in an exclusive meaning of that situation of discourse and its enunciation. The journalistic discourse carries out an informative making of meaning and is inserted into the
framework of opinion makers. Its action implies the manifestation of an image that expresses the subject who enunciates it.

Example: “PFL se sente peixe fora d’água”; “Quem não se comunica se trumbica.” (Jornal Parlamento, maio 2002)
Example: “PFL feels like a fish out of water”; “He who does not communicate will be in trouble.” (Journal Parlamento, May 2002)

In the expressions that appear in the headlines, the authors seem to play with language restrictions, creating seemingly anomalous syntactic constructions with funny, subversive effects on their meaning via manipulative word games.

Example: Com a chegada do coronavírus ao Planalto, caiu a ficha em Brasília da urgência que o caso exige. (Jornal o Globo, 13/03/2020)
Example: With the arrival of coronavirus to the Panalto, the penny has dropped in Brasilia about the urgency that the case requires. (Jornal o Globo, 13/03/2020)

During the pandemic, the president of the Republic of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro minimized the new coronavirus during his visit to the United States, as well as challenged the science and did not follow the health guidelines of the World Health Organization. When the virus was detected in the Government Palace, he realized the severity of the situation as a consequence of people becoming infected and then “the penny dropped”.

Example: Trump, um presidente com a língua solta e afiada na transição (Jornal o Globo, 20/01/2017)
Example: Trump, a president with his loose and sharp tongue in transition (Jornal o Globo, 20/01/2017)

United States President Donald Trump’s career, especially the election race, was marked by controversy and, in his transition to the presidency, he did not skimp on harsh phrases against rivals, critics, and even people who had nothing to do with the White House. Also, through Twitter, the United States president created even more controversy. Here, the expression “a loose tongue” indicates that the president says whatever comes to his mind, even if he should not say it, and speaks too much.

Some issues have repercussions and create political problems, which lead the author of the text to introduce his opinion. Thus, a discourse that
involves power between the lines can lead readers to take such a position as truth, which corroborates Brandão's statement that

*Language as a speech does not constitute a universe of signs that serves only as an instrument of communication or support of thought; language as discourse is interaction, and a mode of social production; it is neither neutral, innocent nor natural, so it is the privileged place of manifestation of ideology* (Brandão 2011, 11).

What can be said is that the journalist, in his discursive practice, does not create the news, but delivers it in a certain way and puts it into circulation.

The metaphorical expressions in this study present a greater or lesser degree of connotation, according to the context in which they are inserted, and the tendency is for the semantic value to be preserved. The fact that they are structures of popular language and, at the same time, are accepted at the formal level of language is a great journalistic strategy to reach the largest number of possible readers.

4. Conclusions

The meanings of a language are always changing—they are not static, and they are made up of relationships that concern the context of its use by each individual. Thus, words often acquire a figurative sense to effectively express ideas and feelings, freshness, novelty, or an effect. The enunciator organizes figurative paths of metaphors to try to show the reader the credibility of his discourse.

Journalism has much to offer readers in terms of contact with everyday experience and the exercise of textualizing reality using metaphors and other figurative language with the function of illustrating, describing, and producing concepts. An understanding of journalistic texts supposes the recognition of the senses’ socio-historical determination and the articulation between the meanings produced according to the constitutive memory of the domains of knowledge.

References


CHAPTER ELEVEN

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN TEXTS
OF ENGLISH FAIRY TALES AND DIFFICULTIES
OF THEIR COMPREHENSION
BY YOUNG CHILDREN

ROZA AYUPOVA,¹ ELZA GARIPOVA²

1. Literature Review

The US-based National Storytelling Network (NSN) defines “storytelling” as follows:

“Storytelling is the interactive art of using words and actions to reveal the elements and images of a story while encouraging the listener’s imagination” (https://storynet.org/what-is-storytelling).

Storytelling is an inevitable component of Early Childhood programs because it plays an undoubtedly significant role in various aspects of child development. The most obvious advantages of storytelling are: offering children educational benefits and positive impact on their performance, building interest in the reading process, stimulating discussion, and strengthening self-confidence as listeners (Al-Mansour and Al-Shorman 2011).

Contemporary studies prove that storytelling develops children's imagination, extends their social activities, and develops their cognitive skills.

“Storytelling can be employed to effectively bridge oracy and literacy by employing many written conventions in the oral form” (Phillips 2000,4).

¹ Kazan Federal University, Russia, rozaayupoa@gmail.com
² Kazan Federal University, Russia, elsa.gar@yandex.ru
Studies also reveal a significant impact of storytelling on children’s brain development. A group of scientists from Fukushima Medical University and Tokyo Medical and Dental University assessed the effects of storytelling on the brains of children by using near-infrared spectroscopy (NIRS). The experiment conducted by them compared the level of brain activation of young children to storytelling with that to picture-book reading. The results showed

"more sustained brain activation to storytelling", thus, "suggesting possible advantages of storytelling as a psychological and educational medium" (Yabe 2018, 129).

It is explained by the fact that storytelling requires more active imagination from the listener. When listening to storytelling a person uses her or his imagination to visualize the story and at the same time s/he tries to forecast what will happen next. On the contrary, picture-book reading may not be as useful as we usually expect as plenty of visual aids provided in picture-book prevent the listener from applying her or his imagination.

“Therefore, the difference in the prefrontal activation between the picture-book reading and the storytelling may reflect the difference in the cognitive demands for the act of imagining” (Yabe 2018, 130).

The experiment also revealed that familiarization with a picture-book sufficiently decreases the level of prefrontal area activities. However, it was proven that storytelling

“didn’t make activity of the bilateral prefrontal areas fall after sufficient familiarization” (Yabe 2018, 130).

To better understand the importance of storytelling in the development of cognitive skills, it is appropriate to dwell upon the functions of the prefrontal cortex, which is a part of the frontal lobe of the human brain. Prefrontal cortex is involved in executive functions such as abstract thinking, concentration, reasoning, organization, decision-making, judgement, emotional regulation, creativity and social–relational abilities – all this is the functionality, which is important in our social activities.

The prefrontal cortex is known as part of the brain that has a lengthened period of development. However, many researchers emphasize that this part of the human brain is susceptible to everything provided in the environment in which children spend their early years. Thus, activities included in the program of Early Childhood Education curriculum lay the
basis for the development of the prefrontal cortex later in life (Hodel 2018).

According to the outcomes of many studies, storytelling plays an important role in language learning. Due to their highly contextualized character stories facilitate comprehension of some unfamiliar words or expressions. Use of illustrations, body language, repetition of some words or sentences and an interesting plot also contribute to it (Claudio 2018).

Since storytelling is viewed as one of the major mediums of language acquisition, research into vocabulary building is also a subject of interest of the current research. So, studies in this field consider the term “vocabulary” “synonymous with the notion of a mental dictionary, personal dictionary, or lexicon”. According to them, mental lexicon consists of “a set of neural connections that collectively create a lexical network”. Activation of this neural network transfers the information

“about lexical or meaning-related aspects of the word (e.g., synonyms, antonyms, closely related words), as well as its phonological (how a word sounds), orthographical (how a word looks in print), and syntactic forms (the word’s grammatical class(es))” (Justice 2016, 2).

Several researchers, among them R.M. Billow (1975), Y.W.A. Smith (1976), M.S. Cometa and M.E. Eson (1978) etc., following J. Piaget’s example, asked 3, 5 and 7-year-olds to paraphrase and explicate different metaphors, but young children failed to complete this task. Based on this, they concluded that children are not capable of performing logical operations necessary to understand metaphoric meaning before the age of 11.

However, it is not consistent with the already undoubted ability of young children to spontaneously use metaphors. Further studies into young children’s comprehension of metaphoric language demonstrated that paraphrasing and explicating were more advanced ways of showing it. Creating more simple tasks for young children to show their comprehension of metaphoric material, scientists found out that young children are quite successful in understanding metaphors.

Testing comprehension of metaphors embedded in 6-7-sentence stories by children under 11 showed no significant difference in their understanding of the metaphors and literal language of these texts (Waggoner, Messe and Polermo 1985).

The research conducted by S. Vosniadou, A. Ortony, R.E. Reynolds and P.T. Wilson (1984) showed that even 3-year-olds demonstrate some understanding of metaphoric language.
Chapter Eleven

As the result of the experiment the subjects of which were children with the age range from 4 to 11 years, according to the difficulty of their comprehension, metaphoric sentences were categorized into 3 levels. Level I, the simplest level of difficulty, “represents the similes with literal verbs”. Difficulty Level II “represents the similes with nonliteral verbs”, and the metaphors with literal verbs. Here children have to deal with additional sources of difficulty in the form of nonliteral verbs and metaphors. In the first case children need “to determine the nonliteral verb's implied action”, in the second case they need “to interpret the predicative statement as requiring an implicit comparison”. Difficulty Level III “represents the metaphors with nonliteral verbs”. The difficulty here is in the necessity to determine

“the implied meaning of the nonliteral verb”, recognize the predicative statement and interpret it as a comparative structure”. (Vosniadou et. al. 1984, 1602).

2. Analysis of Phraseological Units Used in Texts of English Fairy Tales

It is texts of fairy tales that are told to children during storytelling. That is why, as the empirical material of this work, we took 5 fairy tales: “Velveteen Rabbit, or How Toys Become Real” (1922) written by Margery Winifred Williams Bianco; “The Story of the Lion and the Mouse” (1995) by A.J. Wood; and “The Master and His Pupil”, “The Three Little Pigs”, “Johnny-Cake”– all three taken from the book “English Fairy Tales” (1890) collected by Joseph Jacobs.

Usually, fairy tales describe everyday situations and they mostly originate from folklore. Accordingly, the vocabulary used in texts of fairy tales includes mostly words denoting objects of everyday life or activities we perform in our everyday life. These are usually words that young children learn as their first words. From a linguistic viewpoint, they mostly represent a neutral or colloquial layer of the vocabulary of any language.

Phraseological units (PU) make up the more expressive and emotive part of the vocabulary. That is why it is difficult to imagine texts of fairy tales without any PUs. “A phraseological unit is a stable combination of words with a wholly or partially figurative meaning” (Kunin 1970, 210). Other terms used to denote these linguistic units are an idiom, set phrase, multiword combinations etc.

The purpose of this work is to divide PUs used in the texts of fairy tales mentioned above into 3 levels of difficulty applying the criteria
described in the article “Sources of Difficulty in the Young Child's Understanding of Metaphorical Language” by Stella Vosniadou, Andrew Ortony, Ralph E. Reynolds and Paul T. Wilson (1984), and find out how these levels of difficulty are in alignment with the levels of abstraction of PU meaning from the meanings of component parts, in other words, whether the meaning of a PU is motivated by the meaning of its component parts. This is the main criterion Vladimir Vinogradov applied for classifying PUs.

According to V. Vinogradov’s classification all PUs are divided into phraseological fusions, phraseological unities, phraseological combinations.

A phraseological fusion is a semantically indivisible word combination the meaning of which is not motivated by the meanings of its component parts, e.g.: “beat a dead horse”, “go on a wild goose chase”. A phraseological unity is a semantically indivisible word combination the whole meaning of which is motivated by the meanings of its component parts e.g.: “get a second wind”, “stab someone in the back”. A phraseological combination (collocation) is not an expression with integral meaning. Its meaning is formed by realization of direct meanings of its component parts, e.g.: “clear as mud”, “take someone’s side” (Vinogradov 1977). As it can be seen from the examples given and from the description of each type of PU, the meaning of a phraseological fusion is fully abstracted from that of its component parts; the meaning of a phraseological unity is partly abstracted from that of its component parts; the meaning of a phraseological combination is not abstracted from the direct meanings of its component parts.

In the text of the fairy tale “Velveteen Rabbit, or How Toys Become Real” we can observe the use of 8 phraseological units (“bit by bit”, “at once”, “take no notice of”, “at last”, “to and fro”, “give anything”, “all sorts of things”, “catch sight of”), 2 of which (“at last” and “to and fro”) are used in 2 contexts.

According to Stella Vosniadou and her colleagues who elaborated three Levels of difficulty of metaphors in consistency with their comprehension by young children, Level I includes similes with literal verbs. We think 5 (“bit by bit”, “at once”, “at last”, “to and fro”, “all sorts of things”) out of the 8 PUs used in the text under analysis belong to Level I. Though they do not have any verbs as their component parts and they are not similes either, their meaning can be understood from the meaning of component parts, so they might be quite easy for young children to understand. According to V. Vinogradov’s classification they are phraseological combinations.
For example, “bit by bit” – “incrementally slowly, little by little, gradually, by small degrees, slowly” (https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/bit+by+bit). One of the meanings of the word “bit” which is the main component part of this PU, in Merriam-Webster online dictionary is

“a) brief period, b) an indefinite usually small degree, extent, or amount” (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bit).

It is quite obvious from the context where the PU is applied, that “bit” as its component part is used in this particular meaning:

“Does it happen all **at once**, like being wound up,” he asked, “or **bit by bit**?”

The language of the context is very plain, which is conducive to young children’s comprehension. Moreover, another PU, “at once”, which is more likely to be familiar to children, is used to clarify the meaning of it.

Analysis of the contexts in which the other 3 PUs, mentioned above as referring to Level I, are embedded also shows their being quite comprehensible to young children.

In accord with the linguistic classification, we mentioned in this work, PUs “take notice of somebody or something”, “catch sight of somebody or something” and “give anything for something” are phraseological unities, as they are semantically indivisible word combinations, the meanings of which are motivated by the meanings of their component parts. The first two of these PUs are metaphors and they both include a verb used in its indirect meaning. In our opinion, the lexeme **notice** in the first PU and the lexeme **sight** in the second one can reveal the meaning of the whole unit. Thus, from a linguistic viewpoint, PUs “take notice of somebody or something”, “catch sight of somebody or something” and “give anything for something” can be referred to Level II, though they are not similes.

The context in which the PU “take notice of somebody or something” is used facilitates its easy comprehension.

*Ssometimes she took no notice of the playthings lying about*. One evening, when the Boy was going to bed, she couldn’t find the china dog that always slept with him.

The same can be said about the context in which the PU “catch sight of somebody or something” is used.
Just then Nana caught sight of him. "How about this old Bunny?" she asked.

It should also be noted that the PU “give anything for something” is used in its transformed variant, which is addition. The word combination “in the world” added to the structure of the PU makes it more expressive without changing its level of comprehensibility.

But all the while he was longing to dance, for a funny new tickly feeling ran through him, and he felt he would give anything in the world to be able to jump about like these rabbits did.

Four PUs (“learned man”, “under the sun”, “in vain”, “make one's hair stand on end”) are used in the text of the fairy tale “The Master and His Pupil”, one of them (“in vain”) being included in 2 contexts.

The lexeme vain, one of the component parts of the PU in vain is given the following definition in Cambridge Dictionary:


It is not often used separately, especially as a part of young children’s vocabulary, which prevents referring the PU “in vain” to Level I according to the level of difficulty of its comprehension by little children mentioned earlier. So, most probably it can be included into Level II. From the viewpoint of linguistic classification, this PU can be identified as a phraseological unity. It is a semantically indivisible unit, the meaning of which is motivated by the meanings of its component parts.

Linguistically, the PU “learned man” can also be considered a phraseological unity. As to the level of difficulty of its comprehension by little children, it obviously represents Level I. The PU “under the sun” – also a phraseological unity – is a metaphor, but its direct meaning also facilitates understanding its metaphoric meaning, that is why we include it into Level II.

According to V. Vinogradov’s classification of PUs, “make (one's) hair stand on end” is a phraseological fusion, because its meaning is not motivated by the meaning of any of its component parts. Moreover, in the text of the aforementioned fairy tale we can observe contextual use of this PU. Firstly, the lexeme “make” is omitted; secondly, “stand on end” is substituted by “stand up”. Despite all these transformations and the fact that taken separately the PU “make (one's) hair stand on end” should be included to Level III according to the level of its comprehensibility, the
context makes it clear how the boy was frightened. We presume that children to whom this expression is exposed for the first time most probably do not understand its meaning, though they fully understand the meaning of the context, because the description of the scaring image of demon Beelzebub and the words “the boy only trembled” undoubtedly contribute to it.

At once the room was darkened, and the house trembled; a clap of thunder rolled through the passage and the old room, and there stood before him a horrible, horrible form, breathing fire, and with eyes like burning lamps. It was the demon Beelzebub, whom he had called up to serve him. 'Set me a task,' said he, with a voice like the roaring of an iron furnace. The boy only trembled and his hair stood up.

The PUs we can come across in the text of the fairy tale "The Three Little Pigs" are: "once upon a time", “make one’s mouth water” (2 times), “Not by the hairs on my chinny chin chin!” (3 times), “as fast as your legs would carry you”.

Two of these PUs, “once upon a time” and “as fast as your legs would carry you” can be referred to Level I; linguistically, they both represent phraseological combinations. The first unit was already analyzed above, the second one is a simile with no verb in its indirect meaning used as its component part.

The wolf was greedy, and he tried to catch both pigs at once, but he was too greedy and got neither! His big jaws clamped down on nothing, but air and the two little pigs scrambled away as fast as their little hooves would carry them.

As we can see in the extract given above, the PU is used here contextually. The first contextual transformation is addition – the lexeme “little” is added, which makes the image of the PU more vivid and more exact. It works especially well in conjunction with the substitution of the lexeme “feet” by “hooves”.

The phrase “Not by the hairs on my chinny chin chin!” is known as an expression used in the fairy tale “The Three Little Pigs”. Presumably, it implies swearing “by the hair on one’s chinny chin”, which is a beard. According to the linguistic classification, we refer this phrase to phraseological fusions, because it is a semantically indivisible word combination, the meaning of which is not motivated by the meaning of its component parts.
So, he knocked on the door and said: Little pigs! Little pigs! Let me in! Let me in! But the little pigs saw the wolf's pointy ears through the keyhole, so they answered back: No! No! No! *Not by the hairs on our chinny chin chin!*  

As it can be seen from the context given above, the word “no”, repeated 3 times and “not” at the beginning of the phrase as the answer to the wolf’s words “Let me in!” make the meaning of it quite clear. However, taken separately this proverbial phrase should be referred to Level III.

The PU “make one’s mouth water” is a metaphor, but as its definition given in the dictionary demonstrates, its direct meaning is also involved in realization of its metaphoric meaning:

“to make someone hungry (for something); to cause saliva to flow in someone’s mouth”

(https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/make+(one%27s)+mouth+water#:~:text=make%20someone%27s%20mouth%20water,food%20makes%20my%20mouth%20water).  

According to the classification of PUs suggested by V.Vinogradov, this unit represents a phraseological unity. As to the level of its comprehensibility, this PU –metaphor having a verb in its indirect meaning as its component part, can be included into Level II.

In the fairy tale “The Story of the Lion and the Mouse” PUs “king of the jungle” (in 3 variants), “lose one’s mind”, “up and down”, “run for one’s life”, “thank one’s lucky star”, “your majesty”, “when the time comes” can be come across.

The first one of them is the expression that is used in many children’s stories to substitute the word “lion”. So, there is no doubt that children get acquainted with this expression quite early. Even if they are not familiar with it, the context in which it is used for the first time in this fairy tale is quite conducive to young children’s comprehension. First, the animal is called “mighty lion”; then its explanation is given “King of the jungle” as he was:

*Once in a dense jungle far far away there lived a mighty lion whom all the other creatures used to fear very much. King of the jungle as he was, the terrible beast knew no fear and he loved the respect he received from all and sundry in the forest.*
The second context, where the transformed variant of the expression (word order change) is embedded also facilitates its comprehension by little children.

_The lion sat near the entrance of the cave and rested his head on his huge paws. Soon he was fast asleep. The whole cave seemed to tremble with the loud snoring of the jungle king._

The same can be said about the potentials the context provides for young listeners’ understanding of one more transformed (substitution of the lexeme “king” by “lord”) variant of the word combination mentioned above.

_But as he tried to cross the lion, his little tail grazed against the left paw of the beast and the lord of the jungle woke up with a start._

“King of the jungle” is a semantically indivisible word combination the meaning of which is motivated by the direct meaning of the component parts. So, from the linguistic viewpoint we identify it as a phraseological unity. As to the level of difficulty of its comprehension by young children, it is Level II, because this is a metaphoric word combination, but without any verb in its indirect meaning as its component part.

The PUs “up and down” and “when the time comes” can be identified as phraseological combinations, since their meaning is formed from realization of the direct meanings of their component parts. As to the level of their comprehensibility, both these expressions can be referred to Level I, because in the given contexts they are used in their direct meaning.

_The frightened mouse lost his mind and began to run up and down upon the lion. No matter how weak and small a creature is, he may be of help if time comes._

The PUs “lose one’s mind”, “run for one’s life”, “thank one’s lucky star”, used in the text of the fairy tale under analysis, are phraseological unities, because they are semantically indivisible, but their meanings are motivated by the meaning of one of their component parts.

From the viewpoint of the difficulty of its comprehensibility by little children, the expression “lose one’s mind” can be referred to Level III. The reasons for this are as follows: firstly, this expression is a metaphor; secondly, it includes a verb used in its figurative meaning. In the definition of the PU there is neither a synonym of the verb _lose_, nor a word
combination (a word) describing its meaning, or a word related to its meaning:

“to become insane or mentally unsound; to become extremely foolish or foolhardy” (https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/lose+one%27s+mind).

The fact that the words insane, mentally unsound, extremely foolish and foolhardy, semantically related to the meaning of the word mind, are present in the definition of the PU proves that the meaning of the whole word combination is motivated by the meaning of this component part.

The frightened mouse lost his mind and began to run up and down upon the lion.

The context does not include any linguistic means that could clarify the meaning of this PU. However, the situation is described quite clearly, and it provides children’s understanding of the situation even without comprehending the PU.

In the phraseological unity “run for one’s life” the verb “run” is used in its direct meaning, but the whole word combination has metaphoric meaning. So, according to the level of difficulty of its comprehensibility by young children it can be referred to Level II.

The mouse ran for his life, thanking his stars.

Within the same context, we come across the PU “thank one’s lucky stars” as well, one of the components of which (“lucky”) is omitted. This expression is also a semantically indivisible metaphoric word combination, the meaning of which is motivated by the meaning of the verb “thank”. However, this PU represents Level III of difficulty since it is based on the symbolic meaning of the word combination “lucky star”. Symbolic meanings are difficult for young children to understand, which requires some experience of being exposed to the symbolic images existing in the culture. The context above does not provide any extra words or word combinations that could enable young children to understand the meaning of either of the PUs used in it. Although, the direct meaning of the verb-component parts of both the PUs makes the main meaning of the context clear (that the mouse ran thanking somebody or something), even without comprehending the intensity of the meaning of the first PU and image of the second one.

The phraseological combination “your majesty” represents the literary layer of English vocabulary, due to the main component-part of it,
“majesty” referring to this layer. Therefore, it is not an easy expression to comprehend for young children when it is first represented to them. So, it can be referred to Level III. We deem, only after encountering this expression in texts of various fairy tales that young children start to understand this word combination.

In the fairy tale “Johnny-Cake” we can see the following PUs: “once upon a time”, “all of a sudden”, “give chase”, “out of sight”, “out of breath”, “as fast as one’s legs could carry”, “go on and on”, “in the twinkling of an eye”.

Two of these PUs, “once upon a time” and “as fast as one’s legs could carry” were used in the texts of fairy tales analyzed above. Both were identified as representing Level I.

The word combinations “all of a sudden”, “go on and on”, “out of sight” are phraseological combinations, because some of their component parts are used in their direct meanings. That is why, according to their level of comprehensibility, these PUs can be referred to Level I.

The PUs “give chase” and “out of breath”, both are metaphors, their meaning is motivated by the meaning of their certain component parts. In the PU “give chase” this component part is “chase”, while in the PU “out of breath” it is “breath”. So, according to the linguistic classification, both of them are phraseological unities.

Although, the verb “give” as a component of the PU “give chase” is used figuratively, we consider it represents Level I as to its level of comprehensibility. The reason for it is the fact that the word “chase” can be used as a verb as well. We suppose children are most likely to associate the meaning of the whole word combination with the meaning of this lexeme.

The PU “out of breath” should be referred to Level II because its component part “out of” abstracted from its direct meaning prevents children from understanding the meaning of the whole expression.

But Johnny-cake outran all three a long way, and was soon out of sight, while they had to sit down, all out of breath, on a bank to rest.

We don’t think this context facilitates children’s better comprehension of the PU.

“In the twinkling of an eye” has an indivisible semantic meaning, motivated by the meaning of the whole word combination, not by the meaning of any of the component parts. Accordingly, it can be identified as a phraseological fusion. In our opinion, the meaning of this PU is too abstract for young children to comprehend. It is difficult for them to see the association between movements of human organs (twinkling of an eye)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fairy tale</th>
<th>Total number of PUs</th>
<th>Linguistic classification</th>
<th>Level of difficulty of comprehension</th>
<th>Stylistic layer</th>
<th>Contextual/initial form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phraselogical fusions</td>
<td>Phraseological unities</td>
<td>Phraseological combinations</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velveteen Rabbit, or How Toys Become Real</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Master and His Pupil</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Little Pigs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Lion and the Mouse</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnny-Cake</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all 5 fairy tales</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and the notion of time. So, we think this PU represents Level III of difficulty of comprehensibility.

The context in which this unit is used does not provide any words or word combinations enabling children’s better understanding the PU:

“You can, can you?” yelped the fox, and he snapped up the Johnny-cake in his sharp teeth in the twinkling of an eye.

However, the verb “snap up” by which the act of swallowing the Johnny-cake by the fox is expressed shows that it happened very quickly. So, children’s not understanding the meaning of the PU does not prevent them from comprehending the content of the whole sentence.

3. Conclusions

Our analysis of the texts of the above mentioned 5 English fairy tales shows that more than half of the PUs (17 out of 31) used in them represent Level I of difficulty of comprehensibility by young children. They mostly are PUs whose meaning is closely related to the direct meaning of their component-parts; according to V.Vinogradov’s classification of PUs, most of them are phraseological combinations. As to their stylistic layer, they are neutral or colloquial expressions.

9 out of 31 PUs were identified as referring to Level II. They are phraseological unities with motivated meaning, also including component parts the meaning of which is abstracted from their direct meaning. Mostly, they represent a neutral layer of English vocabulary.

3 out of 6 PUs referred to Level III are phraseological fusions. The reason for this is the meaning of phraseological fusions being not motivated by the meaning of their component parts. 2 out of 6 PUs referred to Level III according to the level of their comprehensibility by young children are phraseological unities.

As the result of this part of our research we can conclude, a word denoting an abstract notion used as a component-part by which the meaning of a phraseological unity is motivated leads to increased comprehension difficulty. One more factor making young children’s comprehension of phraseological unities difficult is their meaning being based on a symbolic image. Phraseological combinations can also represent Level III if they include as their component part a word referring to the literary layer of the vocabulary and denoting an abstract notion.

The outcomes of our analysis of the texts of the aforementioned 5 fairy tales allow us to conclude that the contexts in which PUs referring to
Level II or Level III are embedded, firstly, may contain a word or a word combination expressing the meaning of the PU; secondly, are organized so that the main meaning of the context or sentence is clear even without comprehending the meaning of the PU. Thus, texts of fairy tales in most cases are carefully structured to efficiently expose new PUs to young children and to lead to their comprehension of these units thanks to their repetition in the same text and in other texts told to children again and again.

Within this analysis we could clearly observe a logical connection between the levels of difficulty of PUs comprehensibility by young children and the meaning of a PU being motivated by meaning of its component parts. PUs with motivated meaning most probably refer to Level I or Level II of difficulty of comprehensibility. PUs with non-motivated meaning are most likely to represent Level III.

Contextual use of PUs is not popular in texts of fairy tales. Only 6 out of 31 PUs found in the texts we analyzed undergo some type of contextual transformation, 3 of which being substitution, 1 deletion, 1 addition and 1 complex transformation including substitution and deletion.

The reason for the number of contextual uses of PUs being relatively low is their being first represented to young children. We also note the transformations being quite simple not making the process of comprehension more difficult for young children: substituting a component part by a lexeme remarkably close in the meaning and referring to the same stylistic layer; deletion of a component without changing the level of comprehension difficulty; addition of a component also with no impact on comprehensibility level of the PU.

This is the first, linguistic part of our research, the second part being an experiment with a group of young children in a Child Care Facility, the primary objective of which will be to find out how the outcomes of the linguistic part of our research reveal the way young children comprehend PUs they encounter during storytelling activities in the classroom.

References


https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/.

for Young Children.” *Sage Journals. Young Exceptional Children*, published online (February 8, 2012).
https://doi.org/10.1177/1096250611435367.

https://www.thefreedictionary.com/

https://storynet.org/what-is-storytelling/


https://www.jstor.org/stable/1130230


CHAPTER TWELVE

PECULIARITIES OF THE PHRASEOLOGICAL UNIT “BEAR CORNER” IN DIFFERENT RUSSIAN DISCOURSES

OLGA PARSHINA,¹ IRINA GUROVA²

1. Introduction

The phraseological unit “bear corner” (literal translation of “медвежий угол” in Russian) can be considered to be a language sign of the Russian culture. It belongs to the semantic field of a province, which expresses a wide range of historically evolved national cultural connotations. This unit has the following English counterparts: “godforsaken place (hole)”, “Briar Patch”, “backwoods”, “the back of beyond”, and “backwater district”. In this chapter, we will use the literal translation of the Russian phraseological unit in order to preserve its national and culturally specific nature.

The phraseological unit “bear corner” is used as a synonym for a distant, underpopulated place. According to A.K. Birikh, V.M. Mokienko, and L.I. Stepanova, the unit was copied from a Bear Corner toponym used to name small settlements in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1857, when P.I. Melnikov-Pechersky published a short story with the same name, this phraseological unit became widespread. The analyzed phraseological unit was used for naming remote Russian towns (Birikh, Mokienko, and Stepanova 1998).

В.В. Kasevich believes that notions of spatial relations have formed the basis of human cognitive systems since humans began with space exploration in their phylogenesis. A human being is a mediator and data vessel for archaic, mythopoetic notions that focus on space relativization.

¹ Togliatti State University, Russia, parshinaod@mail.ru
² Samara State University of Social Sciences and Education, Russia, gurovaiv2009@yandex.ru
Simultaneously, as a rule, the person is treated as a reference point for establishing the relevant relations of a hierarchical type. In other words, when treated archaically, space is always relational, but in a subject-relational aspect. In this case, relativity is considered to be the result of a human's conceptualization of the world. According to Protagoras' study, man is the measure of all things (Kasevich 2019).

In terms of the symbolic understanding of space, the image of a bear seems to be essential for Russian culture. As G. Govorukhin notes,

*The process of space symbolizing itself does not occur “naturally” in the course of social interaction, but precedes it and constitutes its conditions (Govorukhin 2009: 16–17).*

Thus, discourse is considered to be one of the main conditions for space symbolization.

Based on John Armstrong's concept of symbolic markers for national cultures (Armstrong 1982), O.V. Ryabov and M.A. Konstantinova attribute the image of a bear to highly effective symbolic images. It can express the nature of differences for the culture’s spatial code represented by such binary oppositions as culture (nature), civilization (barbarism), and progressiveness (backwardness) (Ryabov, Konstantinova 2011).

Nowadays, due to its long evolution and transformation, the image of the bear is represented in various aspects and dimensions. Researchers in different fields refer to its semiotic (Smirnov 2020), ethnocultural (Dybo, Nikulenko 2019; Koshkarova 2010), and mythological (Sazina 2019) aspects.

After studying the cultural concept as an exponent of meanings that is significant for the ethnos, T.B. Radbil offered his own semantic model, which includes a word or phrase denoting its concept in the language, semantic features and attributes, definition, and etymology—a set of meanings and associations based on its role and place in the hierarchy of values and pragmatics (Radbil 2010).

### 2. Main Part

#### 2.1 The methodology of the research

The beginning of the 21st century showed a marked interest in the phraseological unit “bear corner”. Researchers consider it from different angles, including its archetypical imagery (Dybo, Nikulenko 2019), its comparison and functioning in both English and Russian cultures.
(Tishkina 2008), its lingua-cultural component (Gezaily 2020), and its pragmatic aspects (Quanming 2018).

Our study aims at describing the phraseological unit “bear corner” and its semantic transformations in various discourses. Thus, it is necessary to perform the following tasks: 1) to select examples of the phraseological unit “bear corner” in the texts of various discourses; 2) to define the basic semantics for the analyzed unit; 3) to consider the nature of the unit’s semantic changes in different types of discourse application; and 4) to analyze the use of the “bear corner” phraseological unit as a basis for language games in fiction, internet, journalistic, and advertising discourses.

Various methods were employed in studying the semantics and pragmatics of the phraseological unit “bear corner”: dictionary definition analysis and descriptive methods, component analysis, the method of continuous sampling and distributive analysis, and combination and contextual methods.

Texts and data from the Russian National Corpus (https://ruscorpora.ru) were used for our linguistic selection. The basic semantics of the analyzed phraseological unit was defined through the analysis of the following sources: the Russian Phraseological Dictionary edited by A.I. Molotkov (Molotkov 1994); the Dictionary of Connotative Proper Names (Otin 2006); the Dictionary of Russian Phraseology (Birikh, Mokienko, and Stepanova 1998); the Russian Semantic Dictionary (Shvedova 1998); and the Large Phraseological Dictionary of the Russian Language (Telia 2006).

2.2. Description of the experiment

As a result of continuous data sampling from the Russian National Corpus, 367 examples containing the fixed phrase “bear corner” were collected. They correspond to the period from 1857 to 2018 and are used in both fiction and journalistic discourses in the Russian language.

Having analyzed the peculiarities of the usage of the phraseological unit “bear corner” based on the Russian National Corpus data, we can trace its frequency during four time periods (see Fig.1).
According to D.A. Tishkina, “bear” belongs to one of the dominant zoonyms of Russian phraseology (Tishkina 2008).

It should be noted that the intensity of a national-cultural component represented in phraseological units can differ. E.F. Arsenteva identifies three levels of determining the national and cultural specificity of phraseological units. The phraseological unit “bear corner” can be attributed to the first level: its national-cultural component is included in the aggregated phraseological definition. In other words, these are non-equivalent or lacunar phrase units existing in any language. Images underlying these phraseological units are clear to all speakers of the language. The calquing and lexical or descriptive translation methods are used for translation and interpretation (Arsenteva 2006).

Moreover, a picture of a bear invokes an image of an alienated, mysterious beast in the minds of Russian people.

I.Yu. Tretyakova notes that it is the remoteness of bear habitats that has become relevant for the meaning of the set phrase. The “bear” component in this phraseological unit is defined as semantically key (Tretyakova 2014). The semantics of the phrase “bear corner” has a somewhat broader sense. This set phrase is represented in dictionaries.

Dictionary, considers the phrase unit “bear corner” to be “a hard-to-reach place”, meaning the maximum distance from the centers of culture and civilization (Telia 2006). E.S. Otin includes the “bear corner” in the synonymic group used for naming “a distant periphery, a place distant from the centre, a remote place, a lost place, godforsaken place” (Otin 2006: 353).

As we can see from the interpretations mentioned above, semes differ in different lexicographic studies. Table 1 represents the authors’ interpretation of the conducted research.

Table 1. Semantic composition of the meaning of the phrase “bear corner” based on the analysis of dictionary entries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>Seme</th>
<th>“remote from the centre”</th>
<th>“inaccessible”</th>
<th>“underpopulated”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phraseological Dictionary of the Russian Language (Molotkov 1994)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of Russian Phraseology (Birikh, Mokienko, and Stepanova 1998)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Semantic Dictionary (Shvedova 1998)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Big Phraseological Dictionary of the Russian Language (Telia 2006)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of Connotative Proper Nouns (Otin 2006)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, we can state that the structure of the lexical meaning of the phrase “bear corner” is represented by three types of semes: “remote from the center”, “inaccessible”, and “underpopulated”.

However, if we take into consideration pragmatics, we should mention that in different discourses the fixed unit “bear corner” undergoes various semantic transformations with various degrees of semantic adhesion and metaphorization.

According to A.V. Kunin, any usual or occasional change of the phrase meaning leads to its transformation which also leads to a change in the semantic composition of the phrase (Kunin 1996).
U. Cyuanmin distinguishes three ways of using the phraseological unit as the name of a distant place—spatially, culturally, or literally, depending on the nature of denotatum (Cyuanmin 2018).

We can identify six contextual uses of the phraseological unit “bear corner” in which various semantic processes take place. Our results are based on the analysis of 367 examples of its usage:

1. The generalized idea of the territory as a part of basic semantics is represented by three of the above-mentioned semes: “remote from the center”, “inaccessible”, and “underpopulated” (213 examples, 58%):

   Не пойму, каналу нашему деньги девать некуда, что ли — в командировку в такой медвежий угол сотрудников послать?

   (I do not understand why our channel wastes money sending its employees on a business trip to such a godforsaken place?)

Sometimes the phraseological unit is presented in its plural form:

   Дух привычности и «естественности» этой войны затронул все общество, проник и в литератuru, и в фольклор, добрался до медвежьих углов державы и там оставил свой след.

   (The spirit of habitualness and “naturalness” of this war affected all of society and penetrated into both literature and folklore, reached the state’s backwoods, and influenced them).

2. The phraseological unit “bear corner” may designate a place in its meaning with the semes “absence of culture” and “absence of civilization” (101 examples, 27.6%):

   Живет она в Аксарке – небольшом поселке, километров 60 от Салехарда. Казалось бы, медвежий угол. Но здесь есть все, что отличает цивилизованный населенный пункт: асфальтированные дороги, инфраструктура, новые дома.

   (She lives in a small settlement of Aksarka which is about 60 kilometers from Salekhard. It would seem to be a Briar Patch. However, it is a place with everything that distinguishes a civilized settlement: asphalted roads, infrastructure, and new houses).

3. The direct meaning of the phraseological unit’s components gives the literal meaning “the place where bears live” to the whole phrase (25 examples, 6.8%). In this case, it acts as a usual phrase:
Алеша заторопился к Черному озеру. Оно считалось у местных жителей медвежьим углом. Ягодницы жаловались, что часто натыкаются на следы медведей.

(Alyosha hurried to the Black Lake... It was considered to be a **bear corner** among the locals: the girls would often come across bear footprints while picking berries).

4. In journalistic discourse, the phrase unit “bear corner” can function in the meaning expressed by the following semes: “lack of influence”, “loneliness”, and “abandonment” (13 examples, 3.6%): 

4. Наш геополитический конкурент стремился сломать политическую волю российского руководства, заснуть нашу страну в медвежий угол и запереть там — чтобы больше не высовывались.

(Our geopolitical competitor was about to break the political will of the Russian leadership and drive our country into backwoods to lock it there and to keep it down).

5. In journalistic discourse, the semantics of the phraseological unit can be emphasized by highlighting the sememe meaning “related to the United Russia party” (10 examples, 2.7%). Members of the party are referred to society as “Bears” based on metonymic transfer (the United Russia political party’s logo contains an image of a bear, Fig. 2):

5. Раскол в медвежьем углу. Кресла в Мосгордуме поделены заранее.

(There is a split in **bear corner**. Chairs in the Moscow City Duma are shared in advance).

Figure 2. The United Russia political party logo.
6. Figurative metaphorical use of the considered phraseological unit is possible, and thus the semes “ambiguity” and “obscurity” are actualized (5 examples, 1.3%):

Он смотрел на нее из полумрака, из медвежьего угла, склонившись к столешнице, и понимал, что барная стойка Наташке не шла, не была ей в тягость, не мучила, но и не преображала.

(He looked at her in the twilight, from a bear corner, sullenly, leaning towards the tabletop, and understood that the bar counter did not match Natashka. It was not a burden to her: it neither disturbed her nor made her better).

We can divide the distribution dynamics of the analyzed examples into two types of discourses: fiction and journalistic. Table 2 describes the authors’ vision.

Table 2. Representation of the phraseological unit “bear corner” semantics in the texts of various discourses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№</th>
<th>Updated semes</th>
<th>Total number of word uses</th>
<th>Fiction discourse</th>
<th>Journalistic discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number of units</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>“remoteness from the center”, “inaccessibility”, “sparseness of population”</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>“absence of culture”, “absence of civilization”</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>“the place where bears live”</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>“no influence”, “abandonment”</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>“related to the United Russia political party”</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>“ambiguity”, “obscurity”</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. Usage of quotation marks

Having analyzed the Russian National Corpus collection, the authors found 73 examples of the phrase “bear corner” used in quotation marks from 1928 to 2017. However, the usage of phraseological units or aphorisms in speech does not denote the speaker’s desire to mark particular objects, phenomena, or situations, to show their attitude to the
interlocutors in order to provoke their reactions and emotions, or to influence them (Gezayli 2020).

The issues of the linguistic status of quotation marks, their semantics and functioning in various types of texts have been studied by numerous Russian and foreign linguists (Gurova 2018; Zhukova 2014; Zalizniak 2007; Klevtsov 2010; Schwarzkopf 1997; Potts 2007; Saka 2005). When characterizing the approaches to determine the status of this graphic sign, A.G. Zhukova names three linguistic types of quotation marks: 1) a punctuation mark used for direct speech and exact quotations; 2) an orthographic mark that usually denotes proper names along with a capital letter usage; and 3) a graphic reflexive, i.e., one of the text elements used for the writer's meta-linguistic reflection or someone else's speech (Zhukova 2014). A.A. Zalizniak identified the invariant meaning of quotation marks: they indicate the destruction of a standard semiotic act (Zalizniak 2007).

The following semes can be actualized by quotation marks in the meaning of the phraseological unit “a bear corner” when using a graphic reflexive:

1. “Non-literal use with extra expressiveness” (59 examples, 80.9%):

Мы совершили большие гастроли по Тюменской области, побывали в самых дальних "медвежьих углах".

(We made a grand tour over the Tyumen region of Russia and visited the most distant "godforsaken holes").

According to A.G. Zhukova, a quotation of a phrase is a typical deviation in the use of reflexive quotation marks. The writer tends to quote those linguistic units which are not a part of his or her thesaurus but are considered to be unusual and expressive (Zhukova 2014).

2. “The use of someone else's nomination” (13 examples, 17.8%):

Село Веркола в Пинежском районе Архангельской области – одно из тех мест, которые принято называть "медвежий угол".

(The village of Verkola in Pinega district of Arkhangelsk region is one of those places that are commonly called "the back of beyond").

It should be emphasized that, when using the phrase “bear corner” in quotation marks, the following words are implemented as markers of
linguistic reflection (“someone else’s” words): “to call”; “is commonly called”; “is considered”; and “by definition”.

3. Consider another example (0.1%):

“Медвежий угол” рынка акций.

(The “bear corner” of the stock market).

The usage of quotation marks in this case indicates an unconventional use of phraseology: in Russia, “bear corner” denotes the “bear market” (stock exchange slang), i.e., the state of the market after a long-term decline of the stock price or index. According to M. Hall, the terms “bear market” and “bull market” metaphorically reflect the movement of the market. Thus, the bull raises its horns when the enemy attacks it, meaning an upward trend (“bull market”). In contrast, a bear attacks from top to bottom, representing a downward trend (“bear market”) (Hall 2020).

It can be argued that the quotation marks for the phraseological unit “bear corner” are due to the author's desire to denote an unusual and expressive language unit based on his or her point of view. A partial quotation of the phraseological unit indicates a transformation of its semantics and non-conventional use.

Figure 3 represents the frequency distribution of quotation marks for the phraseological unit “bear corner” in fiction and journalistic discourses. According to the diagram describing the number of word-usage per million word-forms, the most frequent use of the quoted phrase was recorded in the first decade of the 21st century.
2.4. The spatial model of the world

While belonging to the semantic field of a “province”, the phraseological unit “bear corner” is used in discourse to describe the spatial model of the world in a recursive relation (Parshina 2020). A modern scientist, V.V. Tarasenko, considers that

scale transformation can be understood as a topos which is a characteristic feature of space. On the one hand, we can describe topos as a place in space; on the other hand, as a method of scaling which operates in this space. The symbol’s eventfulness is established in the observer’s reaction initiated by this symbol (Tarasenko 2020: 116).

In this case, the phraseological unit “bear corner” is used to nominate different spaces within the conventionalized basic semantics represented by the “remote from the center” and “underpopulated” semes. Moreover, the nature of space scaling reproduces the semantics of remoteness or sparseness. In this case, space scaling includes the following:

- Global space:

Путями неисповедимыми забрасывает меня в какой-то вселенский медвежий угол, на блюдечке с голубой каймочкой преподносит этот дурацкий мир и включает счётчик!
Peculiarities of the Phraseological Unit “Bear Corner” in Different Russian Discourses

(By mysterious paths, I appeared in the global godforsaken hole: I was handed this stupid world on a silver platter, and then the counter turned on!)

- The space of the country:

Моей любовью стал медвежий угол России, моей неприязнью – местнический уклад Европы.

(I fell in love with the backwoods of Russia and strongly disliked the European bourgeois way of living).

- The space of a particular locality:

Он любил вспоминать, что нерадивых курсантов обещали распределить в медвежий угол – в Домбаровку.

(He liked to recall that lazy cadets were threatened with being assigned to the godforsaken hole of Dombarovka).

- Space within the city:

“Они предлагают нам только один вариант – по Фрунзенской набережной до Лужников. Естественно, мы на медвежий угол, где нет людей, не согласимся. Они могли бы с таким же успехом предложить нам Люблинц”, – отмечает Немцов. Оппозиционеры считают, что столичные власти их провокируют.

(“They offer us the only option: along the Frunzenskaya Embankment to Luzhniki. Naturally, we won't accept the Briar Patch without people. They might as well have offered us Lublino,” Nemtsov notes. Opposition activists think that Moscow authorities are provoking them).

- Room space:

Конечно, она визжит так, что даже статуя коня возле павильона “Коневодство” оборачивается, но кто придет на помощь в этом заброшенном медвежьем углу выставки?

(Of course, she squeals so loudly that even the horse statue near the Horse Breeding Pavilion turns around, but who will come to the rescue in the abandoned godforsaken place of the exhibition?)
2.5. Functioning in the discourse

Another significant feature of the phraseological unit “bear corner” is its function in discourse, with various components acting as actualizers. In this case, they can significantly influence the semantics of the unit and serve as markers which denote the place of the phrase in the Russian value system. The Russian National Corpus presents 106 examples of this kind. Such actualizers include pronouns, adjectives, and participles, as well as their synonyms, acting as a contextual substitute of the phraseological unit.

1. Combinations of the phraseological unit “bear corner” with adjectives (46 examples, 43%):

- “глухой” (“dead”) (8 examples):
  Работать он вынужден будет все-таки, кажется, в глухом медвежьем углу.
  (After all, he seems to be working in a dead godforsaken hole).

- “российский” (“Russian”) and “дальний” (“remote”) (4 examples each). For example:
  Он в эти минуты казался мне типичным народным учителем: где-нибудь в дальнем медвежьем углу.
  (In such moments, he seemed to be a typical folk teacher working somewhere in a remote backwater district).

- “настоящий” (“real”), “темный” (“dark”), “далекий” (“distant”), and “последний” (“last”) (3 examples each). For example:
  Местный аэропорт не работает. Словом, настоящий медвежий угол.
  (The local airport does not work. In short, it is a real godforsaken hole).

- One example of usage is represented by the following adjectives: “заброшенный” (“abandoned”), “отдаленный” (“remote”), “тихий” (“quiet”), “неисследованный” (“unexplored”), “малонаселенный” (“underpopulated”), “промышленный” (“industrial”), “непролазный” (“impenetrable”), “благословенный” (“blessed”), “бездельный” (“derelict”), “безнадежный” (“hopeless”), “героический” (“heroic”), “затхлый” (“stale, musty”),
“армейский” ("army"), “флотский” ("navy"), “самый дикий” ("the wildest"), “сыльный” ("exiled"), “самый отсталый” ("the most backward"), and “обычный” ("ordinary"). For example:

Кабы не хокхломская роспись да знаменитые на весь мир матрешки – быть бы Семенову обычным медвежьим углом, каких у нас такое множество, что, кажется, только из этих углов мы и состоям.

(If it were not for the Khokhloma pieces and the world-famous matryoshka dolls, the town of Semyonov could be considered to be one of many backwoods, and Russia seems to be rich in such godforsaken spots).

Considering the nature of the represented values and semantics, and the peculiarities of context connotation, we can divide adjectives into two groups of words expressing both positive and negative evaluations (Parshina, Ivanyan 2020) (Table 3).

Table 3. Axiological characteristics of the phraseological unit “bear corner” in collocations with an adjective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Positive evaluation</th>
<th>Negative evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Historical and cultural values</td>
<td>Heroic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nature values</td>
<td>Quiet</td>
<td>Unforgiving, The wildest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Scientific and cognitive values</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>The darkest (meaning “illiterate”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Social stratification values</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Far, Far away, Last (meaning “distant”), Dead, Distant, Underpopulated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Local community values</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Army, Navy, Exiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Economic values</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Undiscovered, Industrial, The most backward, Abandoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ethical values</td>
<td>Blessed</td>
<td>Idle, Hopeless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ethnic values</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>The Real, Ordinary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted that the evaluation of the phraseological unit “bear corner” by contemporary Russian scientists can be both positive and negative, with the latter vastly outnumbering positive evaluations.

2. Combinations of the phraseological unit “bear corner” with pronouns and pronominal adjectives: “такой” (“such”), “какой-то” (“some”), and “какой-либо” (“any”) (32 examples, 30%). According to the rules of Russian grammar, they can indicate any attribute and its content which is determined in speech. For instance, the indicative pronoun “такой” (“such”) intensifies the meaning, thus making it possible to emphasize the degree of the characteristic’s intensity (Russian Grammar 2005):

Чего ты хату в таком медвежьем углу-то купил?

(Why have you bought a hut in such a godforsaken place?)

The pronoun “какой-то” (“some”) refers to an object unknown to the speaker. Varieties of obscurity may differ, thereby making them completely unidentifiable and hypothetical (Paducheva 2010):

Дачу Вера нашла, в каком-то медвежьем углу, два часа от Вены по железной дороге, а от железной дороги еще два часа на автобусе.

(Vera found the dacha two hours from Vienna by train, and then two more hours travelling by bus, in a kind of godforsaken hole).

3. The use of the phraseological unit “bear corner” in context with synonymous constructions acting as a contextual substitute, a clarifying component, or a homogeneous member (20 examples, 19%). In this case, the following words and phrases act as contextual synonyms: “поселок городского типа” (“urban settlement”), “глубинка” (“hinterland”), “глухь” (“backwoods”), “проклятый край” (“damned land”), “деревенское захолустье” (“village backwater”), “край географии” (“edge of geography”), “дыра” (“hole”), and “глухая деревня” (“remote village”). For example:

Забралась в настоящий медвежий угол, в глухую деревню, где, кроме моего, еще три дома, и — стала писать книгу.

(I went to a real godforsaken hole, to a remote village where, besides my house, there were three other houses; I started writing a book).
4. Combinations of the phraseological unit “bear corner” with the words “самый” (“the most”) and “самый что ни на есть” (“sheer”) (8 examples, 8%). The pronominal adjective “самый” (“the most”) can be used as a degree indicator. According to V.V. Vinogradov, the word “самый” (“the most”) allows us to form an analytical degree of comparison for nouns with qualitative meanings (Kustova 2018; Vinogradov 1972). Since the substantive phraseological unit “bear corner” can be considered to be an equivalent of a noun, it is possible to argue that the word “the most” expresses the highest manifestation of a feature:

В самых медвежьих углах Союза растут культурные центры.

(In the most godforsaken places of the Soviet Union, cultural centers are being developed).

The phraseological unit “bear corner” acts as a base for a language game. It is interpreted as a form of speech behavior, based on the intentional violation of language system relations to create non-canonical language forms and structures; as a result of this destruction, the expressive meaning is acquired, as well as the ability to create an aesthetic and stylistic effect for the addressee (Kozhina 2003). T.A. Gridina defines a language game as a manifestation of human lingua-creative activity—a particular form of lingua-creative thinking (Gridina 1996).

According to S.V. Ilyasova’s research, the transformation of phraseological units can be regarded as one type of language game with precedent phenomena. Game transformations of precedent phenomena result from applying mechanisms of word-building, graphic, or orthographic games (Ilyasova 2015).

The method of continuous sampling based on word-building game mechanisms revealed 21 examples of a language game with the precedent phenomenon “bear corner”: the suffix [-ок] is used to form the expressive diminutive “уголок” (“nook”), expressing the speaker’s subjective attitude to the denotative or marking friendliness and intimacy in communication. In contrast, the “bear” component is not subject to transformation. The unit “the bear nook” is used in online fiction discourse (5 examples), journalistic discourse (7 examples), and advertising discourse (9 examples).

In Russian grammar, the suffix [-ок] is included in the list of suffixes expressing hypocrisy and, less often, it also has a pejorative meaning. At the same time, this suffix may have a neutral connotation (objective semantics), e.g., diminutiveness (Russian Grammar 2005).
Having analyzed the contextual use of the phraseological unit “a bear nook”, we can identify three types of usage:

1. In advertising discourse, the ergonym “a bear nook” makes potential clients imagine an attractive place of rest/entertainment represented by the semes “distance from the center”, “comfort”, “convenience”, and “peace”:

Гостинично-развлекательный комплекс «Медвежий уголок» имеет удобное расположение для автопутешественников и гостей города. В нашем гостинично-развлекательном комплексе вы сможете интересно провести время, наслаждаясь спокойным загородным отдыхом.

(The Bear Nook hotel and entertainment complex has a convenient location for car travelers and city guests. In our hotel and entertainment complex you can have an exciting time and enjoy your out-of-town holiday).

M.A. Krongauz points out the intentional use of diminutives in the names of establishments that adds to the creation of an informal, friendly atmosphere among visitors:

“Mainly...it is not the small size that should be considered, but rather the sense of coziness and homely warmth arising in small spaces” (Krongauz 2008: 96).

Thus, the marketing strategy focuses on the phatic function of the diminutive “nook”.

2. The unit “a bear nook” can be denoted as a “small homeland” or a “native place”:

Медвежий дальней уголок. Малой Родины это сторона.

(The bear nook, which is the site of our birthplace and small motherland).

3. In advertising discourse, the Bjorn restaurant is called “the bear nook”. The semes, “traditions of the Nordic countries”, “genuineness”, and “natural”, are represented in it:

Медвежий уголок напротив Кремля: ресторан Bjorn. В переводе с датского Bjorn означает "медведь". Царь леса выбран тотемом неслучайно. Bjorn себя называет рестораном северной кухни, а
значит, в нем найдется место блюдам всех северных традиций, включая и Россию.

(The Bjorn restaurant is the bear nook opposite the Kremlin. In Danish, “bjorn” means “bear”. “The bear” was not chosen as a totem for “the tsar” or “the king” of the forest by accident. The Bjorn restaurant positioned itself as a restaurant with northern cuisine which means it wines and dines according to all northern traditions including Russian ones).

The use of the unit “the bear nook” in all the examples mentioned above is accompanied by a meliorative evaluation.

3. Conclusions

The phraseological unit “bear corner” is widely used in various Russian discourses. In dictionaries, the lexical meaning of the phraseological unit “bear corner” is represented by three basic semes: “remoteness from the center”, “inaccessibility”, and “sparseness”, which vary more or less from one lexicographical edition to another. In fiction and journalistic discourses, the phrase “bear corner” reveals various semantic transformations and metaphorization. The use of quotation marks plays an essential role in these changes while highlighting either the entire phraseological unit or the adjective “bear” as a part of it.

The non-discrete space denoted by the phraseological unit “bear corner” can be represented in different ranges, from global to local ones, based on the recursive reproduction of basic semantics.

The phraseological unit “bear corner” combined with adjectives can have both positive and negative connotations and can represent historical and cultural, natural, scientific and cognitive, social and stratificational, economic, ethical, ethnic, and local-territorial values.

The phraseological unit “bear corner” is used as a basis of a linguistic game with precedent phenomena. The transformed unit “the bear nook” is represented in internet fiction discourse, as well as journalistic and advertising discourses, while revealing the following types of semes: “distance from the centre”, “comfort”, “convenience”, “peace”, “small motherland”, “native place”, “traditions of the Northern countries”, “genuineness”, and “natural”.

A further comparative study of the discoursal use of the phraseological unit “bear corner” with other units of the semantic field “province” would be of particular interest.
References


Arsenteva, E.F. 2006. *Fraseologiya i fraseografia v sopostavitelnom aspekte (na materiale russkogo i angliyskogo yazykov)*. Kazan': Kazan. gos. universitet.


Puducheva, E. V. 2010. Vyskazyvaniye i. yego sootnosennost’ s deystvitel’nostyu: referentsial’nye aspekty semantiki mestoimeniy. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo LKI.


Telia, V.N. 2006. *Bolshoi frazeologicheskiy slovar’ russkogo yazyka*. Moscow: AST-PRESS KNIGA.


CHAPTER THIRTEEN
INSTANTIAL USE OF METAPHORICAL PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS

NINA SOBOLEVA¹, GELINIA GILAZETDINOVA², AIDA SADYKOVA³

1. Introduction

The study of figurative language has always been a challenging field for the generations of scholars. In this regard, phraseology occurs to be no exception as it is

“an area with a confusing range of terminology and different approaches” (Naciscione 2010, 17).

Over the last decades, we observed a radical shift from the traditional viewpoint that approached metaphors and instantial phraseological units (PUs) as being abnormal and derivative from straightforward literal language. At present, owing to the rise of cognitive sciences, figurative language is regarded as a tool of the human mind. Within the cognitive linguistic framework, metaphor is considered to be an entity that is deeply rooted in our thought (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2005), and thus, figurative meanings are instigated by our conceptual knowledge:

“figurative language involves the same kinds of linguistic and pragmatic operations that are used for ordinary, literal language” (Glucksberg 2001, 5).

¹ Kazan Federal University, Russia. NPSoboleva@kpfu.ru
² Kazan Federal University, Russia. Ggilaz@mail.ru
³ Kazan Federal University, Russia. A_sadykova@bk.ru
In its turn, phraseology is understood as a means of storing and organizing knowledge about the world in human consciousness. The formation of PUs can be viewed as a bridge connecting the needs of our cognition and the limited lexical resources of the language we speak. The cognitive approach is essential for comprehending the processes of creating phraseological meanings in text. The images that arise as a result of conceptual mapping – building associative connections of words – perform a fundamental function in the process of genesis of a phraseological unit, which is regarded as

“a stable word combination with a fully or partially figurative meaning” (Kunin 1970, 210).

In this respect, metaphorical PUs are of special interest as they are the product of associative and figurative thinking, verbalized by language and fixed in speech:

“Metaphor identification, comprehension, and appreciation become more challenging and also more interesting when metaphor is represented by a PU, not separate words” (Naciscione 2010, 17).

The development of phraseological meaning in discourse can originate from the so-called phraseological transference (“pereomysleniye”, according to Prof. Kunin) (Kunin 2005, 168). Phraseological transference based on metaphor, which is

“the transference of name from one denotation to another, associated with it on the basis of real or imaginable resemblance” (Runin 2005, 168.),

results in the formation of metaphorical PUs.

This chapter focuses on the study of metaphorical PUs and their creative (instansial) use in film advertising discourse, aiming to combine both traditional and cognitive views on studying these stable word-combinations. A multifaceted approach to the analysis of the practical material under investigation determines the relevance of the study. The given study identifies and compares the features of the functioning of PUs in film slogans English, as well as classifies the main cases of contextual use of phraseological units. The study dwells on both verbal and visual components of film advertising campaigns, since an image given on the poster often contributes to understanding as well as interpretation of the concept as a whole. 400 English-language taglines from feature-length films posters served as practical material for the given study.
2. Figurative thought and instantial use of PUs in advertising

Our mind is blessed with the ability to conceptualize experience in figurative terms. Figurative meaning is an indispensable feature of the PU.

“Use of figurative language, including phraseological units, has been recognized as part and parcel of human cognition, a revealing cognitive mechanism” (Naciscione 2010, 7).

In other words, when we either process or produce figurative expressions, we interpret them as

“instantiations of deep conceptual metaphors or metonymies” (Omazić 2008, 68).

Over the last decades, studying PUs and metaphorical PUs (“idioms” in different terminology) from a cognitive perspective has given rise to an increasing number of publications including papers (Gibbs 1990; Boers 2001; Pragglejaz Group 2007; Taylor 2012), chapters (Omazić 2008, Geeraerts 2009, Kövecses 2012), and monographs (Glucksberg 2001; Giora 2003; Kövecses 2005; Langlotz 2006; Trim 2007; Naciscione 2010; Steen 2010; Jaki 2014). Metaphorical PUs or idioms are

“based on transference of meaning, metaphor that the speaker is aware of” (Kunin 2005, 28).

The mental images for idioms are created through conceptual metaphors that

“link idioms to their figurative interpretations” (Gibbs and O’Brien 1990, 40).

A number of researchers highlighted the impact of context on the creative use of PUs, viewing it as one of the important linguistic problems that reflects creative processes taking place in the language. Instantial use of phraseological units is an important factor stimulating linguistic development and change:

“Creativity in use of phraseology implies a capacity for random and non-traditional thinking, seeking to produce novel forms of PUs in discourse and introduce new features in their image” (Naciscione 2010, 21).
Prof. Kunin defined the concept of “occasional use” of phraseological units that implies structural and semantic modifications PUs may undergo (Kunin 1970, 2005). The latter concept was further developed by A. Naciscione: in her book “Stylistic Use of Phraseological Units in Discourse”, she introduced the term “instantial stylistic use” to denote “a mode of conceptualization” (Naciscione 2010, 40). According to A. Naciscione, instantial use is defined as

“a particular instance of a unique stylistic application of a PU in discourse, which results in significant changes in its form and meaning determined by the thought and the context” (Naciscione 2010, 40).

In this chapter, we will adhere to the term proposed by the researcher. Among the researchers discovering the peculiarities of instantial PUs in various contexts are W. Mieder (Mieder 2004), A. Nachchione (Naciscione 2010), A. Prahlad (Prahlad 2004), M. Omazic (Omazić 2008), A.V. Kunin (Kunin 1970, 2005), E.F. Arsenteva (Arsenteva 2014, 2017), et al.

Phraseological units often function in the language of advertising, which implies the use of core and instantial phraseological units as verbal means of recipients’ attraction. The language of advertising slogans illustrates to the full extent the use of various stylistic and rhetoric devices such as metaphors, puns and other stylistic implementation of PUs. A strong tendency towards the use of stylistic devices and expression of ideas in short, precise and remarkable ways are determined by the laconic nature of short advertising texts. Researchers focusing on interaction of phraseology and advertising are W. Mieder (Mieder 1993, 2004), D. Crystal (Crystal 1998), A. Prahlad (Prahlad 2004), N. Janich (Janich 2005), A. Hemmi (Hemmi 1994), L. Kavalcova (Kavalcova 2002), N. Soboleva (Soboleva 2016, 2017), et al.

A film slogan being a short, striking and memorable phrase has an intrinsic quality to seize recipients’ attention and involvement, which is one of the main goals of advertisement on the whole. Film slogans serving as practical material for the current investigation are generally referred to as “taglines”. Apart from the textual component of film advertising discourse, visual imagery transferred on posters and pictures can also be regarded as an indispensable element of such discourse:

“Our expression of images comes not only in the form of written language but also in the field of semiotics: symbols, painting, photography, film and so on. <...> More sophisticated visual imagery is found frequently today in the world of advertising. One airline commercial used a pair of consecutive shots to compare the flight of a bird with that of an aeroplane.
The picture of a bird landing is accompanied by the sounds of an airport control tower and a braking plane, implying that a flight with the airline in question is a very smooth one” (Trim 2007, 7).

Indeed, along with the verbal component of a short advertising message, the visual aspect is also of great importance for sustaining the meaning. In other words, film taglines are accompanied by images: the image complements the advertising slogan, while it is the slogan that often ties together the concept of the advertised product and the image. Having analyzed creolized texts, L.V. Golovina identified the following two patterns of image and text interaction: the content of the image and the verbal component can coincide completely (“parallel” perception) or partially – in the latter case, visual range sustains and broadens the content of verbal information; such perception is interpreted as “complementary” (cit. from: Vorobyova 2009, 55). If a film tagline on the poster contains a metaphorical PU, it can give rise to the further development of meaning:

“A visual instantiation of a phraseological image is of stylistic and cognitive interest because it brings out the potential of phraseological meaning, and the creative aspects of the verbal and the visual in multimodal discourse. <...> Visual representation creates new meaning, stretches our imagination, and sustains figurative thought. Phraseological metaphor exists not only in thought and language; it also exists in visual representation and its perception” (Naciscione 2010, 175).

3. Instantial PUs and their classification

Instantial use of PUs gives new ways to the representation of figurative thought. The main question that arises is the problem of access to meaning:

“Only knowledge of both the base form of the PU and the particular instantial pattern allows readers or listeners to perceive, comprehend, and interpret” (Naciscione 2010, 65).

Therefore, the problem of contextual modification of core PUs and classification of these stylistic transformations are of interest to both domestic and foreign scientists.

As noted earlier, A.V. Kunin became one of the first Russian linguists to highlight in his work the problem of the core and occasional (instantial) use of PUs in context. The researcher proposed four types of “configurations”, including the “occasional configuration of the first and second degrees”: within the framework of the occasional configuration of the first degree,
there is an increase in expressiveness, modification of the meaning and structure of PUs, which is realized through stylistic methods of double actualization (phraseological pun), insertion, substitution, ellipsis, extension, etc. Occasional configuration of the second degree is implemented by using complex stylistic techniques: extended metaphor, phraseological saturation of discourse, cleft use, etc.

In the monograph “Phraseological Units in Discourse: towards Applied Stylistics”, A. Naciscione also distinguishes between the core use and the occasional use of phraseological units (instantial stylistic use). Among the ways of contextual transformation of phraseological units, the author singles out the following techniques: extended metaphor, pun, cleft use and phraseological allusion (Naciscione 2001).

Prof. E.F. Arsenteva in the monograph “Contextual Use of Phraseological Units” examines cases of the use of extended metaphor, phraseological saturation of discourse, phraseological reiteration and other types of contextual transformations (Arsenteva 2009). In addition, the researcher also paid attention to the use of contextually untransformed phraseological units and phraseological puns (Arsenteva 2006).

N.V. Konopleva gives a detailed review of the literature on the contextual functioning of PU, and, based on the classification presented by V.M. Mokienko, offers the following generalized systematization of PU transformations (Walter, Mokienko 2005; Konopleva 2009). The author refers to the first group changes of a semantic nature that do not violate the structure of phraseological units. Here N.V. Konopleva includes a phraseological pun or a play on words and a change in the stylistic features of PU. The second group included structural and semantic transformations. The third group includes complex transformations such as extended metaphor, phraseological reiteration, phraseological saturation, etc. (Konopleva 2009).

Focusing on the types of wordplay, Prof. N.F. Alefirenko distinguishes the following mechanisms underlying the processes of instantiation of PUs: a cognitive-discoursal metaphor; a configurational wordplay; cognitive base extension; discoursal allusion.

“The cognitive mechanism of metaphorical play is aimed at unwrapping the image underlying the phraseological concept. This is due to the actualization of one or more of its figurative elements” (Alefirenko 2012, 74).

We can find the above-mentioned stylistic techniques in fiction, publicist or other texts that have a certain degree of volume and extent. However, if we are talking about the modifications of phraseological units
in advertising slogans, we need to keep in mind the stylistic features of this text. A slogan is, above all, a short advertising text transmitting a laconic concept, which determines the actual possibility of realization of certain stylistic techniques.

Any modification of phraseological units must correspond to the communicative goals (Omazić 2008, 72); in other words, a potential recipient must be able to decode the reason for such instantiation and recognize the core phraseological unit. The inability of the addressee to determine the source text after the performed stylistic modifications suggests that there are certain lexical, semantic and cognitive limitations in the instantiation of a PU. Nevertheless, instantial use of phraseological units in compliance with the needs of advertising campaigns is carried out successfully: on the one hand, creative use of PUs serves as a way of attracting the consumer to the product advertised; on the other hand, it is the realization of creative potential of the language and unwrapping of the metaphorical image.

**4. Instantial metaphorical PUs used in film taglines**

Figurative thought can be sustained through both verbal and visual channels; instantial use of metaphorical PUs may be represented as interconnection of different stylistic devices. As the researchers note, the main features of an advertising text containing modified PUs are imagery, expressiveness, high readability and memorability, originality and expressiveness, compliance with the target audience and the goals of the advertising campaign. Through the creative use of modified phraseological units in advertising slogans, copywriters achieve the necessary impact on the potential recipient. Additionally, a tagline containing a PU and supplemented with a visual component shows the interaction on two levels – visual and textual, which assumes full or partial correspondence of an image and text, thus evoking rich imagery. Such instantiation

“shows how a phraseological metaphor turns into a visual pun” (Naciscione 2010, 188).

This section of the chapter considers the following stylistic techniques: convergence, phraseological saturation of discourse and extended phraseological metaphor, pun, substitution, extension, and rearrangement of the components.
Convergence, phraseological saturation of discourse, extended phraseological metaphor, and phraseological allusion

According to the classification, proposed by Prof. Kunin (Kunin 2005), the occasional configuration of the second degree in short advertising texts is represented by the following stylistic techniques: extended phraseological metaphor, phraseological allusion, convergence, and phraseological saturation of discourse.

1. Phraseological saturation of discourse

Phraseological saturation is a technique that was considered in detail by A. Naciscione. The researcher defines it as “instantial phraseological saturation of discourse” (Naciscione 2010), and A.V. Kunin attributes this technique to the occasional configuration of the second degree (Kunin 2005). Phraseological saturation of discourse implies simultaneous use of several PUs.

“She brought a small town to its feet and a huge corporation to its knees”, “Erin Brockovich” (2000), USA.

This short advertising text indicates the use of two nominative metaphorical phraseological units: “bring someone to one's knees” (“reduce smth. to a position of subservience”) and “bring someone to one’s feet” (“make smb. strong and independent once again”). The film tagline illustrates the stylistic devices of phraseological saturation of discourse. The given example also harbors some elements of zeugma – there is the tie between the verb “to bring” and each of the dependent members. The antonymous concepts underlying phraseological units create a semantic opposition within one sentence: “brought <...> to its feet - brought <...> to its knees”. This juxtaposition makes the tagline more expressive, creates a humorous effect and gives an imaginative and figurative idea of the film content. The film starring Julia Roberts tells the story of Erin Brockovich, a woman with three children who modestly worked in a small law firm until she got the chance that led the heroine to success. The visual representation on the film poster provides us with a half-length portrait photograph of an independent woman holding a child. In case of this advertising campaign, the content of the image and the verbal component coincide completely (what is called “parallel” perception).
2. **Convergence and cleft use**

There are cases when PU is modified in several ways through simple or complex stylistic modifications (“convergence” as defined by A.V. Kunin and “concurrent use” as defined by A. Naciscione) (Kunin 2005, Naciscione 2010). The convergence technique is a complex stylistic transformation and is often complicated by other techniques of instantiation of phraseological units. As a result of such changes, a humorous effect can often be achieved (Kunin 2005, 247).

“Out of the ashes, hope will rise”, “Flight of the Phoenix” (2004), USA.

This example above illustrates the use of the nominative metaphorical PU “to rise from the ashes” which is a part of the stable word combination “rise like a phoenix from the ashes” meaning “to become successful again after seeming to have failed completely”. The film tagline harboring the given PU plays upon the title of the survival drama film “Flight of the Phoenix” as well as its plot revolving around a group of people who survive an aircraft crash in the desert and must build a new aircraft (named “Phoenix”) in order to escape. Another point is, the given phraseological unit was subjected to a number of structural and semantic changes: on the one hand, word order of the core phraseological unit was changed due to its cleft use; on the other hand, we can observe the substitution of the preposition (“from” – “out of”); the film tagline also illustrates the use of the extension (the addition of the noun “hope”). The presence of multiple modifications of the phraseological unit indicates convergence. Such creative use of the PU made the film tagline more impressive and in compliance with the advertising concept. The film poster depicts the portraits of three main characters and an aircraft in the desert struggling to gain altitude. We may observe partial coincidence of the visual and verbal components. In this respect, the image gives us a key to the film tagline and its plot.

3. **Extended phraseological metaphor**

According to A. Naciscione, the extended phraseological metaphor is one of the most frequent techniques of contextual use of PUs (Naciscione 2010, 80). Indeed, the implementation of the extended phraseological metaphor gives rise to a significant stylistic effect. Referring to the language of literary works, one cannot fail to note the wide use of a variety of stylistic devices and extended metaphors, in particular. However, when
it comes to advertising slogans, the context is so laconic that such
techniques as the extended phraseological metaphor and phraseological
saturation of discourse are not as widely represented.

“Success didn’t go to his head, it went to his neighbor”, “Envy” (2004), USA.

The tagline indicates the implementation of the extended phraseological
metaphor technique. The given film slogan is based on the nominative
metaphorical PU with the structure of the subordinate phrase “go to one’s
head”, meaning of “to cause one to become arrogant”. This example
illustrates the punning on the verb “go” as a component of the
phraseological unit “<…> (didn't) go to his head” and the free word
combination “<…> went to his neighbor”. In the given film tagline one or
more sub-images correspond to one of the basic components of
phraseological units. The above given example shows elements of zeugma
based on lexical valency – there is the tie between the verb “to go” and the
dependent members. As for the visual component, the imagery represented
on the poster fully coincides with the verbal component of the film
advertising campaign. The poster depicts two neighbors hugging one
another; there is a green-colored rupture between them (the allusion to the
famous periphrasis of W. Shakespeare: “green-eyed monster” meaning
jealousy). The image on the poster as well as the film tagline play up the
film plot and disclose some of its intricacies.

4. Phraseological allusion

From the cognitive perspective, phraseological allusion is one of the
most fascinating structural and semantic stylistic techniques that PUs may
undergo. Phraseological allusion is viewed as a complex cognitive
mechanism:

“A discoursal aspect of allusion metonymically actualizes the cohesive
potential implicitly inherent in any phraseme: an integral concept emerges
in the linguistic consciousness based on one or several components of the
phraseme” (Alefirenko 2012, 74).

Phraseological allusion allows to focus the attention of a potential
recipient on the most important component of the message: the recipient is
forced to look for cues to determine a link between the explicit and
implicit elements of an instantial PU. The phraseological allusion implies
that in order to be able to reconstruct the core phraseological unit, the
reader should have a mental model of the corresponding PU.
“100 years later, lightning strikes twice”, “Iceberg. Titanic II” (2010), USA.

This short advertising text is based on the communicative metaphorical phraseological unit “lightning never strikes [the same place] twice”, which is used to describe an event that is unlikely to happen in the same place or to the same person twice. In the above-mentioned film tagline, we observe the truncation of the phraseological unit component (“never”), which leads to the change of meaning to the opposite one: “the same trouble happens twice”. Despite the fact that the PU has undergone the truncation of some of its components, it is still recognizable by the reader and shifts the focus towards the main idea of this mockbuster film. It positions itself as a mock version of the iconic film “Titanic” (1997), the plot being revolved around a fictional Titanic replica that sets off the century after the original ship's voyage to perform the reverse route, facing the same fate at the end. The tagline, which is based on the instantial phraseological unit, has become more expressive and acquired semantics corresponding to the needs of the advertising campaign.

As a result of the carried-out research, the phraseological saturation of discourse, phraseological allusion and extended phraseological metaphor are infrequent stylistic techniques within the framework of the studied material. There are single cases of their use, in contrast to the more common technique of convergence. The use of the above-mentioned complex stylistic techniques accompanied by visual imagery in film advertising unwraps phraseological metaphor and transforms it into visual pun, which is a strikingly effective tactic in the struggle for the audience’s attention.

**Phraseological pun, substitution, extension, and rearrangement of components**

Within the framework of the occasional configuration of the first degree (Kunin 2005), we can observe the increase in expressivity as well as a number of changes in the semantics and structure of PUs. Such modifications are implemented through the use of pun (wordplay, double actualization in different terminology), substitution and extension of PU components.

1. **Phraseological pun**

Pun plays a significant role in the language of advertising: along with the substitution, double actualization of meaning is one of the frequently
used stylistic devices which can also occur in combination with other types of instential modifications. Pun or wordplay is broadly characterized by its ambiguity.

“The stylistic effect of phraseological pun does not lie in the presence of the PU, but in the relationship between the PU and the corresponding free combination of words with their literal meanings” (Naciscione 2010, 91).

Thus, the wordplay is based on cognitive-metaphorical associations between the phraseological concept and its prototypical image.

“Due to double actualization, the phraseme is demetaphorized, creating the effect of cognitive dissonance” (Alefirenko 2012, 74).

“Dark secrets will come to light”, “Beautiful Creatures” (2013), USA.

This tagline is based on the nominative metaphorical phraseological unit “come to light”, meaning “to become known”. The analyzed short advertising text contains a wordplay based on double actualization of meaning, which is realized through the semantic opposition of the noun “light” and the adjective “dark”. The film poster depicts a group of people posing in front of the gothic gates and a willow. The image corresponds to the fantasy genre of the motion picture and shows the interplay of dark and light palette of colors. Nevertheless, despite the full compliance between the verbal and visual component, the film plot might be still obscure for the spectator.

2. Substitution

Along with the phraseological pun, A.V. Kunin places substitution among the occasional configurations of the first degree (Kunin 2005). Substitution is not only a semantic, but also structural modification of PUs. As a result of this stylistic transformation, a component of the PU is replaced by a component of the same or different part of speech. When replacing components of the phraseological unit with another lexeme or several lexemes, both notional and structural parts of speech can be substituted. Substitution enhances the expressiveness of the PU used in the advertising slogan, evoking emotional response from a potential recipient, which can be both positive and negative. Substitution quickly activates a cognitive mechanism of the addressee who is forced to reconstruct the core phraseological unit at the back of their mind. Therefore, a slogan or a tagline with an already modified meaning is better remembered and
reproduced in the memory of the recipient. The meaning is subject to changes in accordance with the needs of an advertising campaign, and the PU used in the film tagline makes the whole concept more vivid and expressive.

“Read between the lies”, “Spotlight” (2015), USA

In the given example we are exposed to the stylistic technique of substitution. The film tagline is based on the modified metaphorical PU “Read between the lines” meaning “to try to understand someone’s real intentions from what they say or write”. The noun “lines” is substituted by the partial homophone “lies” with the shift in meaning towards the pragmatics of the film advertising campaign and the plot of the motion picture. The story develops around the team of “Spotlight” which is the newspaper investigative journalist unit based in the United States; the poster is rich in imagery and depicts a man with his back turned to the spectator who is stumbling along the front page of a newspaper. It is quite an ingenious play upon both the film content and its tagline. It is a good example of how various aspects of discourse may interplay creating a multimodal perception of the whole concept.

3. Extension

The extension implies not only the addition of components strictly in the beginning or to the end of a PU, but also in the middle of stable word combinations. In the process of analyzing the practical material, it was noted that the extension of the components of PUs in short advertising texts is represented by pronouns, adverbs or adjectives. This stylistic technique is often used in combination with other cases of PUs instantiations.

“They lost half a million at cards but they’ve still got a few tricks up their sleeve”, “Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels” (1998), UK.

This film tagline was created using the nominative metaphorical phraseological unit “have something up one's sleeve” meaning “to keep secret plans or ideas for the right time”. The PU underwent minor structural changes: the verb “have” was extended to the construction “have got”, which is more characteristic of British English; in addition, we observe addition of the adverb “still”. Despite the presence of structural modifications, the semantics of the phraseological unit has undergone minor changes. This example also shows the interplay between figurative meaning of the PU and the literal meaning of its components: the words “cards” and “tricks” can be attributed to the same semantic field. The title
of the film is also of particular interest, since it contains the modified
phraseological unit “lock, stock, and barrel” meaning “completely,
entirely, all taken together”. In addition, there is a reference to the
colloquial expression “smoking gun”, which is a metaphorical restatement
of “clear evidence”. Thus, the phraseological pun in combination with the
technique of extension of the PU components made it possible to bring the
semantics of the PU closer to the needs and goals of the film advertising
campaign. The combination of film tagline and poster evokes multimodal
perception of the motion picture in question.

The study has shown that the most frequently occurring stylistic
techniques are phraseological pun and substitution of components. Taken
together, these cases of PU instantiations make up to 60% of all the
modifications. Referring to the visual component, film posters play a
significant role in unwrapping the imagery of PUs creating multifaceted
understanding of the whole concept.

5. Conclusions

PUs functioning in film advertising discourse often undergo stylistic
modifications: the creative use of phraseological units in taglines serves as
an effective way to attract potential recipients, since a short advertising
text harboring instantial PUs is rich in imagery, expressiveness,
originality; it can be characterized by a high degree of readability and
easily memorized by the addressee.

The stylistic techniques underlying film taglines adhered to the
classification into the occasional configurations of the first and second
degrees. Within the framework of the occasional configuration of the first
degree, the following stylistic techniques are used: pun (double actualization),
cleft use, substitution, and extension of PU components. Phraseological
pun and substitution of components are the most frequently occurring
cases of PUs instantiation. What is more, film taglines based on PUs
demonstrate a persistent tendency to the implementation of complex
contextual modifications, such as the occasional configuration of the
second degree, even despite brevity of the advertising slogan. The
occasional configuration of the second degree comprises extended
phraseological metaphor, phraseological allusion, convergence, and
phraseological saturation of discourse. Due to the semantic capacity and
rich imagery inherent in PUs, these stable word combinations are actively
modified corresponding to the needs of a particular advertising campaign.

Apart from the verbal component, visual imagery is an indispensable
part of any film advertising campaign, since visual aspects are a part of
metaphorical thought development and representation. A film poster in combination with the tagline containing an instantial PU may end up in visual punning, which is a striking technique facilitating cognitive processes of the multimodal concept perception.

References


Arsenteva, Elena F. 2006. Frazeologiya i frazeografiya v sopostavitel'nom aspekte (na materiale russkogo i angliyskogo yazykov) (Phraseology and phraseography in comparative aspect (based on the Russian and English languages)). Kazan: Kazan Federal University Publishing House.


Vorobyeva, Ye.V. “K voprosu o vzaimodeystvii verbalnykh i vizualnykh sredstv v kreolizovannom tekste” (“On the issue of the interaction of

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PHRASEOLOGY IN THE HEADLINES OF NEWS WEBSITES’ REPORTS ON THE CORONAVIRUS IN SLOVAKIA

OLGA CSALOVÁ,1 PAVOL BURCL,2 ZUZANA KOZÁROVÁ,3 ELENA ZELENICKÁ4

1. Introduction

The coronavirus pandemic has led to recognizable changes in society. We can speak about societal changes that have had a chain effect. However, the changes that fundamentally affect us are not always a step forward; for instance, language responds to such stimuli and movements in society, and it is said that there has been a noticeable decline in its purity. In this regard, they often point to media language which has progressively absorbed numbers of lay elements—a phenomenon that was unprecedented until recently. The expert community mentioned some of these changes even earlier when they talked about the syncretism of genres, the rise of technology, the penetration of Anglicisms, quantitative and qualitative changes, and new relationships among mass communication participants (Kralčák 2006).

Since the pandemic outbreak in Slovakia, there has been an urgent need for the best possible communication between the government and the general public. Not only are the methods and means of communication considerable, but so is the language of communication itself, i.e., comprehensibility, information adequacy, accuracy, and clarity. Whether

1 Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia, ocsalova@ukf.sk
2 Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia, pburcl@ukf.sk
3 Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia, zkozarova@ukf.sk
4 Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia, ezelenicka@ukf.sk
the language of such communication is offensive, hurtful, or discriminatory (e.g., čínsky vírus = the Chinese virus; odchytiť ľudí prichádzajúcich zo zahraničia = to intercept people coming from abroad) is also important. Undoubtedly, language plays a significant and important role, as misunderstood information often evokes strong emotions, often negative, especially in marginalized groups. The linguistic behavior of people in Slovakia demonstrates their tendency to submit to authority, which they do more markedly than in other countries, particularly western ones. That is why we are focusing on the authorities’ language of communication, and we shall concentrate more on the information formulation in popular online spaces.

We also take into consideration the fact that the practical and life experiences of each nation are rooted in language and implemented through phraseology (Khayllurina 2008). This also concerns a significantly sensitive component of journalism—news. The text is characterized by interweaving language-layers, and a significant penetration of colloquial style into the news reports. We perceive this as a tension between officiality and unofficiality. Expressive lexicon, together with the frequent use of phraseologisms, has a dominant position in the colloquial style. We also perceive the increasing frequency of phraseological units in the news as a natural indicator of shifts in society. It is related to the saturation of news reports with a casual tone, which is designed to get closer to the readers and their reading tastes.

The COVID-19 crisis has been a disturbing reality that has taken many countries by surprise. Thus, we consider observing media behavior to be especially interesting.

2. Materials and methods

The major purpose of newspaper headlines is to trigger the reader’s interest. A popular way to achieve this goal is the use of phraseological modifications (Jaki 2014). For our research purposes, we created a database of newspaper headlines excerpted from the seven most widely read daily news websites in Slovakia. We narrowed the researched database by only collecting headlines referring to information on the COVID-19 pandemic. The corpus was systematically compiled and continuously investigated. Within the file, we distinguished two sub-databases: non-tabloid news reports headlines and tabloid news reports headlines. Given the research scope and the space provided, we have focused on the researched material from the last two months, the latest data being from January 11, 2021. The subject of the analysis represents phraseologisms in a qualitative and
quantitative comparison of selected tabloid and non-tabloid news report headlines. We discuss the function and form of phraseologisms concerning the text’s determination by their expressiveness and emotional aspects. This analysis also indicates how journalistic clichés are changing in the current social conditions.

2.1. Online media as a source of news

During the last decades, the development of a media environment where internet users have access to a large amount of information in convenient formats (mostly for free) across a range of increasingly sophisticated devices and in ways that enable new forms of participation (consumers appreciate new opportunities to get, share, and comment on the new) has become the norm in most countries with extensive access to digital media, including Slovakia. Generally speaking, print readership is declining, and time spent with digital media has increased rapidly. Print is far less widely used, and an increasing number of people rely on online sites and name online media as their daily source of news. This fact had a decisive influence on the choice of material within our research.

2.2. News websites in Slovakia

Interest in buying a paper edition of a newspaper has been declining for a long time and, as follows from the official audit conducted by Audit Bureau of Circulations in Slovakia, the cost of sales decreased compared to the previous period in almost all national dailies. When the first wave of the pandemic broke out in spring 2020, newspaper websites broke internet traffic records. As a result, publishers are focusing more attention on online readers.

---

Here are the seven largest news websites in March 2020, according to IABmonitor\(^9\): the web operator with the highest traffic is Ringier Axel Springer SK with the news website Aktuality.sk, which has almost 2.69 million unique visitors per month.\(^10\) The second market leader in terms of the number of visitors to news websites is the Petit Press publishing house with its portal Sme.sk. The daily Pravda does not lock its web content and its portal (Pravda.sk) traffic stands at almost 1.8 million users per month. Other opinion-forming dailies with a relevant online subscription are Plus JEDEN DEŇ (Pluska.sk), Denník N (Dennikn.sk), Hospodárske noviny (the HNonline.sk portal), and Nový čas (Cas.sk).

For our research purposes, we created a database of newspaper headlines excerpted from the seven most widely read daily news websites in Slovakia, which were then divided into two sub-databases:

- non-tabloid news reports headlines
  (Aktuality.sk, Sme.sk, Pravda.sk, Dennikn.sk, HNonline.sk), and
- tabloid news reports headlines
  (Pluska.sk, Cas.sk).

The data are taken from the last two months, up to January 11, 2021.

### 2.3. Observed characteristics defining online news on the coronavirus

Based on the observation of these seven most-read daily news websites, we can state that we noticed a predominance of informative journalistic genres in Slovakia. Specifically, the predominant genre is a brief, short news item, which lacks contextual information and does not offer the readership in-depth information; however, the visual framing of the news is designed to provoke an emotional response. Informative genres and the avoidance of openly emotional headlines are predominant; therefore, we might suggest that the examined news websites avoid sensationalism. However, we can interpret the mentioned visual framing as an attempt to emotionally charge the information pieces. Besides, Slovakia is typical of a country with high-


intensity political polarization, especially during these days of the coronavirus crisis.

The impact of various cultural phenomena is evident in various areas of social existence. We perceive them as the driving elements of social consciousness. They come, affect a specific group of recipients, and then expire. They have an impact on the norms and conventions of behavior—the conspicuous aspect of human beings—and significantly affect the value system. So, there are cultural elements with social elements that color existing phenomena up to the point that we can see they merge and create a new reality via sociocultural phenomena (Burči, Kozárová, Csalóvá, Pavlová, Zelenická 2020).

The management of the crisis has been a source of intense political conflicts between the government and the opposition, which has mainly been reflected by the media. We observe that politicians have been frequent performers relevant to giving information and visual support, rather than the health personnel and researchers directly involved in the fight against the virus. Thus, we can speak about the high level of politicization of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis in Slovakia.

3. Phraseological tradition in Slovakia

Phraseology belongs to language components strongly related to linguistic culture and it is mentioned in almost all its relevant considerations. Diachronic research in Slovakia has not been given enough attention in this field of study until recently, and it only began within the last 50 years. We will now refer to some of the essential publications on phraseology related to this issue in Slovakia, as well as to the linguists who handle this subject.

At the beginning of phraseological research in Slovakia, a database was formed which comprised the most frequent phraseological units used in contemporary language. One of the first works dedicated to this issue was Malý frazeologický slovník, which was published in 1989 (Smiešková) and which has been used as a Slovak language educational tool at primary and secondary schools to the present day. Other phraseological dictionaries that were published focused on comparative research, such as Rusko-slovenský frazeologický slovník (Ďurčo, Dorotjaková, Filkusová, Petrufová, Malíková 1998). In addition to the effort to collect the phraseological fund of the contemporary Slovak language, publications capturing traditional proverbs and sayings—such as the work Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá a úslovia. Povaha, mravy a duševné prejavy (Záturecký 2011)—are undeniably important as well. The latest comparative collection of phraseological units that could be used for education, as well as for scientific research, is the

Other works focused on the phraseology aimed to clarify the terminology applied to the Slovak language (Frazeologická terminológia, Dučo, 1995) or to map the development and current state of Slovak phraseology via a diachronic cross-section (*Vývin súčasnej frazeológie: východiská, podoby, uplatňovanie, akceptácia*, Młacek, Baláková, Kováčová 2009).

One of the most striking tendencies of linguistic development in the 21st century in Slovakia is the theoretical understanding of language as an anthropocentric phenomenon. Phraseology has also become an object of anthropocentric research, which is carried out through interpretations and reconstructions of pictures of the world in individual cultures, nations, and individuals. Młacek considers phraseology to be one of the most specific areas in every natural language. He believes that it is possible to assess the overall level of knowledge and mastery of the mother tongue and foreign language according to the degree of mastery of language phraseology (Młacek 1984). Nowadays, phraseological units are interpreted as specific, expressive, and pragmatic tools to clarify the essence of language and the linguistic picture of the world (Dolník 2010; 2012; Młacek, Baláková, Kováčová 2009; Dučo 1995 and others).

Slovak linguist, Młacek expressed the opinion that the phraseological unit arises from the re-evaluation of phrases which already exist, whereby the given phrase assumes a new meaning which is different from the original one (Młacek 1984). The process in which the phrase and its new meaning are settled is called phraseization, which has two stages and is a long-term issue (Młacek 1984).

Młacek (1984) distinguishes ten groups of phraseological units according to (a) semanticism; (b) construction; (c) function; (d) origin; (e) parts of speech; (f) relation to language; (g) etymology; (h) relationship between original and variation of the phrase; (i) stylistics, and (j) their complexity and possibility of creating different combinations. Młacek classifies idioms into six groups:

- phrases with syntagmatic construction (*stratiť hlavu, spravit dieru do sveta*),
- phraseologized constructions (*ohýbaj ma, mamko, pokiaľ som ja Janko, keď ja budem Jano, neohnieš ma, mamo*),
- minimal idioms (*ani za svet*),
- subphrases (*no veď hej*),
- one-word phrases (*vystreliť si z niekoho*),
• phrases constructed from sentence phrases or compound sentences
  \((ako\, číta,\, tak\, číta)\) (Mlacek 2001).

We classify a state comparison as a phraseologism (Mlacek, Ďurčo 1995) and define it as a tool of figurative expression (semantic transformation), which is among the non-paremiological state expressions. It is not a name, but a type of description; by its nature it is similar to a metaphor.

State comparison does not in itself compare anything; its meaning here is to intensify. When analyzing the attribution and determining the limits of its composition, it is necessary to respect the basic general three-member attribution scheme (Ďurčo 1995): \(\text{comparandum} =\) comparing part (what is being compared); \(\text{tertium comparationis} =\) comparative basis (common quality feature by which it is compared); and \(\text{comparatum} =\) the comparative part (what it is being compared to). State comparisons are a special group of phraseological units in vocabulary. In expressing the attribution, it serves to emphasize a certain characteristic of the object being compared, and it is a tool of specificity and clarity; furthermore, the emotional-aesthetic efficiency is not negligible. Phraseological comparison is a broader term than state comparison. It not only includes comparisons already established in the language, but also those that are gradually becoming installed into the fixed vocabulary, and which mainly appear in colloquial language, so they are not yet included in the content of phraseological dictionaries; however, they regularly appear in corpora (Slovak national corpus).

4. Function and form of phraseologisms concerning the headlines’ determination via expressiveness and emotional aspects

4.1. Quotes

Periodicals of a non-tabloid nature make an effort to maintain a “pure” style of reporting, i.e., an effort to answer basic news questions and avoid expressive lexicon and phraseology. But, even here, some changes are noticeable. A media phraseological unit (idiom) is considered to be a unit that has signs of evaluation, emotionality, intertextuality, structural integrity, and idiomaticity, which gives the media text its figurativeness and expressiveness (Syzonov 2019). When creating a headline, for example, authors work in a very sophisticated way with quotations in quotation marks and, more frequently, without any quotation marks. In this way, the authors of the reports seem to distance themselves from the lexicon used (since they
are not the authors of the quotation), while making full use of the statements’ expressiveness. In terms of construction, the report does not hold any stimulus to expressiveness (colloquiality). The author evokes expressiveness by choosing a quote as a headline. Such newspaper headlines then bring linguistic elements from several different styles into a matter-of-fact news report that does not sensationalize the facts, but which states them and is typical of its notional lexicon. Examples:

_Ludia, ktorí prepadli sitom, nemôžu zostať pre štát neviditeľní, tvrdí prezidentka_  
Prepadnúť sitom = to fall through a sieve; byť neviditeľný = to be invisible/unseen.  
(December 10, 2020, Aktuality.sk)

_Matovič po pozitívnom teste: Svoj život by som položil za tisícky iných_  
Položiť za niekoho/niečo život = to lay down one’s life for someone or something, to sacrifice one’s life for someone or something.  
(December 18, 2020, Sme.sk)

_Krajčí: Je to zložitá situácia, vydali sme sa českou cestou_  
Vydať sa cestou = go down a/the road, to act, behave, or do things in a particular way or manner.  
(January 5, 2021, Sme.sk)

_Mikas: Robili sme, čo sme mohli_  
Robiť to najlepšie, čo môžem = do the best I can.  
(January 2, 2021, Pravda.sk)

_Matovič: Spravili sme zubatej hody, zažijeme peklo na Zemi_  
Spraviť/pripraviť niekomu hody = to prepare a feast for someone; peklo na Zemi = Hell on Earth, an awful or extremely unpleasant situation or circumstance.  
(December 30, 2020, Pravda.sk)

_Poslanc Kollár: Za spôsob, ako zachraňujeme životy, pôjdeme do pekla_  
Išť do pekla/skončiť v pekle = get hell, to receive the brunt of another’s anger.  
(December 28, 2020, Pravda.sk)

_Krajčí: Od pondelka sa sprísnia opatrenia, v hre je i zákaz vychádzania_  
Byť v hre = to bring something into play, to involve something in something.  
(December 14, 2020, Pravda.sk)

_Alona Kurotová: Na každom kroku striehne pre zahraničných lekárov prekážka_
Striehnúť na každom kroku = to lurk around every corner/turn, to be everywhere.
(December 10, 2020, Pravda.sk)

Naď napadol opozíciu: Kupčia s ľudskými životmi ako Hitler
Kupčíť s niečím = to trade in something, to use something as payment.
(December 28, 2020, Pravda.sk)

So Slovákm hráte RUSKÚ RULETU, tvrdia experti
Hrať ruskú ruletu = to play Russian roulette, to take dangerous risks.
(January 4, 2021, Pluska.sk)

Analytik bije na poplach: Už o pár dni vyrcholí druhá vlna, bude to VEĽMI ZLÉ!
Bijť na poplach = to sound the alarm, to alert other people about something dangerous, risky, or troublesome.
(January 4, 2021, Pluska.sk)

Cibulkovú zaočkovali neoprávnene proti vírusu. Nechala som sa uviesť do omylu, reaguje
Uviesť do omylu = to mislead someone about something, to misrepresent something to someone.
(January 10, 2021, HNonline.sk)

Matovič o Sulíkovi: Ak by mal Boha pri sebe, ešte dnes sa zbali a odíde z ministerstva hospodárstva
Mat' Boha pri sebe = to have God with you, to be human.
(January 10, 2021, HNonline.sk)

Podľa Juraja Šeligu “Igor Matovič nie je démon, ktorý by chcel zničiť Slovensko”
Byť démon = to be like a demon, when one puts forth a great effort to do something.
(January 6, 2021, Dennikn.sk)

4.2. Occasional means: photographs

Authors can readily and unquestionably include quotes, phraseologisms, expressiveness, comparisons, and colloquial words in their news headlines. Specifically, the tabloid media use quotations in headlines, and their function often gets enriched by the text doubling as an advertisement. These headlines also include occasional means, such as photographs that supplement unspoken content with non-linguistic forms and thus increase the desired tension. We call this element of colloquial style situationality. It allows the speaker to express themselves incompletely as they assume that
a non-linguistic circumstance supplements the unspoken content. In addition, there are two elements crucial in understanding and analyzing phraseological meaning in the discourse of advertising: cognitive psychology as the study of perceptual processes, especially the processing of a flow of words, as well as recognition, creativity, and imagery (Naciscione 2010); and a cultural dimension, as a native speaker’s capacity for linguistic introspection and reflection derives from their knowledge of cultural-linguistic codes—that is, from their lingua-cultural competence (Teliya 2001). In our database, we detected surprisingly few headlines with this characteristic. Here are some examples:

Situácia je kritická! (= the situation is critical)
This headline is accompanied by a photograph of a large number of coffins in a small space. (January 4, 2021, Pluska.sk)

Neuvriiteľný pohľad na Bratislavu! (= incredible sight on Bratislava)
This headline is accompanied by a photograph of the empty streets of Bratislava. (January 2, 2021, Pluska.sk)

Aj TAKTO netradične vyzeral Silvester! (= this is how the unconventional New Year’s celebration looked)
This headline is accompanied by photographs of an empty Slovak National Uprising Square (SNP Square) and Kamenné Square. (January 1, 2021, Pluska.sk)

Milan Kňažko po prepustení z nemocnice: Takto ho zmenil koronavírus (= Milan Kňažko after his release from the hospital: This is how the coronavirus changed him)
This headline is accompanied by a photograph of the actor who had made a full recovery after being hospitalized. (October 14, 2020, Pluska.sk)

4.3. Synecdochic expressions

Newspaper headlines containing citations may not always carry lexical expressiveness. Often, headlines containing quotes summarize the basic news report and are practical; however, the author only intends to confirm the report’s authenticity in the form of a quote. Sometimes a synecdochic expression appears in the headlines formulated in this way, specifically, if the writer mentions an institution, country, or organization in the text as the author of the quotation:

Rezort zdravotníctva: Zdravotníci v nemocniciach pracujú s vypätím všetkých síl (= Healthcare sector: Hospital paramedics work with all their might) (December 3, 2020, Aktuality.sk)
4.4. Cliché

The theory of journalistic genres defines a “report” as a typical genre that is mostly characterized by notionality, among other attributes. However, this genre has currently absorbed some changes that are most visible at the level of the lexicon, precisely in the penetration of expressive words and phraseology. Above all, news texts still actually perform an informational function requiring timeliness, comprehensibility, and clarity. However, due to globalization tendencies and social and technological changes that affect the linguistic level of the written and spoken word, we can expect that the current trends will influence news reporting in all societal areas. The shift in news issues has caused an easy transfer of lexical, compositional, and stylistic peculiarities—which are typical for analytical genres, and even more so for fictional genres—to news texts. The synthesis of genres also means the syncretism of language and expressive means. We can also state that phraseologisms have already become a conventional part of the language contained in the reports of non-tabloids; however, their frequency is lower in comparison with the tabloids. Research has captured this phenomenon in comparative studies of the same daily with a several-year shift.\(^{11}\)

It is necessary to distinguish phraseological units from contemporary clichés in journalistic texts. Phraseology is not subject to temporality or modishness; it performs the function of imagery in the text and updates the text depending on the contextual possibilities. Similarly, cliché is an aestheticizing element, but it is subject to the phenomenon of temporality. With frequent use, it becomes something expected and known, as well as ceases to function as a linguistic peculiarity. Cliché or trafaret constructions are frequently used metaphors attributed to a particular author or style. They arise in the process of quickly drafting a speech or a text. They are part of a journalistic style characterized by the fact that the authors have to produce texts within a time limit and therefore the authors are forced to express themselves according to established patterns.

Journalistic clichés change and are subject to contemporaneity. They are usually a construction with a noun, but certain adjectives and verbs can also be a cliché. At present, there are several nouns in use in the news that evoke the use of trafaret constructions. We have listed some of the most frequent ones, accompanied by examples taken from the news headlines of our research database, below:

“téma” (= topic):
Nový koronavírus COVID-19––aktuálna téma a hrozba (= actual topic)
Horúca téma: Fitko áno, či nie? (= hot topic)
Čitlivá téma aj v USA: Lokalizácia ľudí cez mobilné telefóny (= sensitive topic)

“krok” (= step):
Rodička odmietala rúško aj test na COVID-19, košická nemocnica avizuje právne kroky (= legal action)
Prvé kroky Mikulca ako ministra vnútra budú spojené s krízovým štábom (= first steps)
Úspešný krok na ceste ku skroteniu pandémie (= successful step)
Ústretový krok finančnej správy poteší každého, kto nemôže doručiť daňové priznanie (= welcome step)
Prezidentka Čaputová chystá v čase pandémie odvážny krok: Navštívi marčínskú nemocnicu (= bold step)

“slovo” (= word):
Zostal predsedom strany, v ktorej má stále rozhodujúce slovo (= decisive word)
Posledné slovo bude mat koalícia (= final word)
Posledné slovo k diplomovkám (= last word)
Úvodné slovo a zdravcu konferencii poslala aj poslankyňa Anna Záborská (= introductory speech)

“cesta” (= way, road, path):
Británia má pred sebou ešte dlhú cestu (= have a long way to go, have much progress to make before accomplishing a goal)
Je to cesta vpred, o tom niet pochyb (= the way forward, it is likely to lead to success)
Slovenská cesta za úspechom (= the road to success, a process or series of events that will achieve something or have a particular result)
Na rozdiel od minulých garnitúr sme nastúpili na cestu ďalších (= to embark on, to begin something that will take a long time or happen for a long time)
Krajina nastúpila na cestu Maďarska a Poľska (= to embark on)
Vytyčili sme si cestu za ideálmi (= to chart a course of action, to plan)
“gesto” (= gesture):
Odpísané. SZĽH spravil voči šťastným rozhodcím ústretové gesto (= welcome gesture)
Šťachetné gesto fanušíkovan Atalanty. Peniaze zo vstupného darovali na boj proti koronavírusu (= generous gesture, gesture of goodwill)
Repatriačné lety SR z Libanonu a Iraku ako významné gesto spolupatričnosti v rámci EÚ (= significant gesture)
Krásné gesto hráčov Mönchengladbachu v tážkých časoch, klub ušetri viac ako milión eur (= nice gesture)
DOJEMNÉ gesto Slováka v Španielsku: Pozrite sa, čo chce pre koronavírus urobiť pre Slovákov! (= touching gesture)
Jeho klub urobí veľké gesto (= grand gesture)
Berlusconi porazil COVID-19: Prekvapivé gesto exmanželky, s ktorou pred 11 rokmi prerušil kontakty (= unexpected/surprising gesture)
Politický analytik Ján Baránek Pellégriniho vystúpenie vníma ako symbolické gesto voči členom strany (= symbolic gesture)
A lockdown s výnimkami pre vyvolených je prázdné gesto (= empty gesture)
Gröhling odstúpil zo svojej funkcie pre kauzu diplomovej práce, bolo by to pekné politické gesto (= political gesture)
Keď politické gestá zatienili šport (= political gesture)

Certain verbs are often over-used words that directly support the formation of clichéd expressions:

“postaviť” (= to stand):
5 správ alebo ako sa Sulík postavil premiéroví, reštaurácie sa vzprieť a Krajniak ticho menil penzie (= to stand up to someone or something, to confront someone or something in defiant opposition, especially in defence of oneself or someone else)
Treba rokovat', nie postaviť si hlavu, uviedla V. Remišová (= to make headway against, to oppose/resist successfully)
Ako postaviť Európu po koronavíruse znovu na nohy? (= to get on one’s feet)
Krajniak sa postavil za Kollára: Dámske návštevy v nemocníci boli výražne opatrovateľský (= to stand for someone, to advocate, support, or endorse something)
Kto sa po sneme postaví do čela strany? (= to take the lead, to take a position that is ahead of others, go first)

“bežať/prebiehať” (= to run):
V koaličnej strane Za ľudí prebieha diskusia o budúcnosti (= discussion in progress)
Aj vďaka disciplinovanej občianskej podpore prebieha testovanie pokojne (= testing in progress)
Školy sú uzavreté do odvolania a vyučovanie prebieha na distančnom zameraní (= distance learning takes place)
Žiaci a zamestnanci sú v domácjej karanténe a vyučovanie prebieha dôsledne na distančnej formy (= distance learning takes place)
Prebieha diskusia k školám (= ongoing discussion)

Prílišne u 80 percent pacientov prebieha ochorenie ľahko (= course of disease)

Školy, kde prebieha pilotný projekt a bolí otestované antigénovými testami tiež budú pokračovať vo výučbe (= ongoing project)

“figurovať” (= to figure, to be):

Kedy si príde NAKA pre pána Rudolfa, ktorý figuruje v kauze s testami za 43 milióna eur? (= to figure/be the case)
Rezervy nakupovali testy bez súľače, potichu a od firmy, ktorá figuruje v zozname dôčnikov Sociálnej poisťovne (= to be on the list)

Ktoré slovenské kraje figurujú na ich zozname? (= to be on the list)

“zaisťiť/zabezpečiť” (= to ensure):

Opatrenia majú zaisťiť kontinuitu (= to ensure continuity)

Skupina G20 zabezpečí prístup k vakcínám (= to ensure access)

“presadzovať” (= to enforce):

On-line priestor nenačí deti vedieť si presadiť svoj názor medzi rovesníkmi, dospelými či učiteľmi, tvrdia psychologi (= to enforce your opinion)

Vie ministra Mgr. Mária Kolíková presadiť právo a spravodlivosť? (= to enforce law and justice)

Adjectives also have this function. The use of clichéd adjectives thus creates a kind of intensifying phraseology:

“horúci” (= hot):

Žiadna kaša sa neje taká horúca, ako sa uvari (= no porridge is eaten as hot as it is cooked, things are never as bad as they seem at first, the devil is not as black as he is painted)

Horúca novinka z Národnej rady SR - aké zmeny nám prinesie novela zákona o dani z príjmov od 1.1.2021? (= hot news)

Horúca správa: Pribudli ďalšie štyri úmrtia na COVID-19 (= hot news)

“Horúce témy” koronavírus nezablokoval (= hot topics)

Tento krok “schladí niektoré horúce hlavy” (= to cool/calm down the hotheads)

“kľúčový” (= key):

Pomoc v boji proti COVID-19: Európsky parlament schválil kľúčové opatrenia EÚ (= key measures)
Nosenie rúšok patrí k jedným z kľúčových preventívnych opatrení (= key preventive measures)

Kľúčové opatrenia na podporu ekonomiky zasiahnutej COVID-19 (= key measures)

Digitálne medie a telekomunikácie zohrávajú kľúčovú úlohu (= key task, a major part)

Kľúčová úloha v prenose nového typu koronavírusu na človeka mohol zohrať šupinavce (= cardinal role)

Bill Gates vyjadril obavy ohľadom vakcíny. Ide o kľúčový problém, ktorý musí ľudstvo zdolať (= key/crucial problem)

Rada nepovažuje za kľúčový problém absenciu konsolidačných opatrení pre rok 2021 (= key/crucial problem)

Preniesol sa koronavírus na človeka priamo z netopierov? Kľúčovú rolu vraj mohli hrať aj malé cicavce (= major part)

Dostatočný prísun živín, ako jeden z kľúčových faktorov (= key factor)

“prudký” (= sharp):

Španielsko hlási prudký nárast prípadov koronavírusu, uzavreli okres Segria (= sharp increase in coronavirus cases)

Prudký nárast nových prípadov v Česku (= sharp increase in new coronavirus cases)

Česko hlási prudký nárast infikovaných (= sharp increases in COVID-19 infections)

Malta hlási prudký nárast nových prípadov (= sharp increase in new coronavirus cases)

Uvoľnenie prinieslo prudký nárast (= sharp increase)

Banky čakajú prudký pád ekonomiky, potom strmý rast (= sharp decline)

Prudký pokles hospodárskej aktivity v Nemecku a eurozóne bol blízko očakávaniu (= steep fall)

“účinný” (= effective):

Dôkladná hygiena rúk je účinná prevencia voči veľkej časti infekčných ochorení (= effective prevention)

Toto všetko sú veľmi účinné kroky k eliminácii šírenia ochorenia COVID-19 (= effective steps)

“ostrý” (= sharp):

Maďarsko uzavrelo pre koronavírus hranice, Brusel reaguje: Ostrá kritika! (= sharp criticism)

Český tréner sa pustil do ostréj kritiky opatrení proti koronavírusu:

Pripadám si ako blázón (= sharp criticism)
Pellegrini sfúkol Matoviča: Ostrá kritika a výsmech! (Sfúknúť niekoho = to blow someone out, to defeat an opponent easily, to criticise; ostrá kritika = sharp criticism and mockery)

Smart karanténa čoskoro v ostrej prevádzke (= in operation, working in the normal way)

Ostrá reakcia Mikulca na vyčištenie ultras (= sharp response)

Mikulec im posielal ostrý odkaz (= sharp reply/message)

Ostrý odkaz premiérovému: Známý herec Ady Hajdu to Matovičovi takto vytmavil! (= sharp reply/message)

Ostrý odkaz Vladimírového Krčmérmu—“ Aký požičaj, taký vráť!” (= sharp reply/message; aký požičaj, taký vráť = tit for tat, describing an act of retaliation)

Igor Kmeťo sa nakazil Covidom-19, posielal ostrý odkaz fanúšikom (= sharp reply/message)

Ostré slová analytika: Koronavírus naše zdravotníctvo nepreveril, v tomto Krajči zlyhal (= sharp/critical words)

“široký” (= wide):

Opatrenia majú široký záber (= to cut a wide swath)

COVID-19—nový virus so širokým spektrum klinických prejavov (= wide spectrum)

COVID-19 má širokú škálu prejavov ochorení dýchacích ciest (= wide variety)

Among the adjectives that act as intensifying elements, the majority emphasize positive qualities (mohutný potlesk = massive/huge applause, famózny príbeh = spectacular/smashing story, veľkolepé privítanie = spectacular/magnificent welcome, neuveriteľný pokrok = unbelievable/incredible progress).

Viacerými sídliskami sa naraz ozýval mohutný potlesk a nadšené výkriky (= huge applause)

Túžba po normalite a aj nesmelé oslavy konca “famózneho” roka 2020 (= spectacular year)

Koronavírus skomplikoval Jojke veľkolepý projekt za státisíce eur, je šou v ohrození?

Žiadne veľkolepé otvorenie: Boli radi, že sa kúri (= spectacular opening)

Neuveriteľný čin lekárničky: Zámerne znehodnotil stovky dávok vakcíny (= unbelievable act)

Neuveriteľný príbeh, pod ktorý sa podpísal nový koronavírus (= unbelievable story)
But we also observe adjectives that reinforce the negative nature of the statement (búrlivý vzťah = tumultuous relationship; hanebný podvod = shameful deceit; otriasný skutok = appalling/horrible act; zbabraný pokus = unavailing/unsuccessful attempt).

Búrlivé časy koalicie (= weathering the storm/hard times)
Kabinet premiéra Andreja Babiša podľa Benešovej prijal súhlasné stanovisko po búrlivej debate (= heated debate)
Hanebné správanie ženy pred Krčméryho očkováním (= shameful behavior)
Hanebné právanie rodičky, ktorá odmietla mať rúško

4.5. Elatives

Recent research in periodicals has shown that intensifying phraseologisms, especially those that describe the highest degree of intensification in the positive or negative evaluation of a phenomenon, are more common in tabloid news. Non-tabloids deal with such adjectives in a much more considered way. Even if a superlative adjective form is used, an elative, which expresses the intensity of an adjective by its means, is only used in exceptional cases. The elative is a stage of gradation that can be used to express comparatives or superlatives. It expresses the highest possible degree of adjectives using prefixes, word deformation, or lexical suppletivization (e.g., postarší človek = elderly; premilý = beloved one). We found a lot of these examples in the dailies in our database. Here are some examples of the most frequent ones:

Škandalózny pôrod v košickej nemocnici kvôli testom na koronavírus: Bude advokátka pykať? (= scandalous childbirth)
Argentína schválila NEVÍDANÝ zdroj financií na koronavírus: Peniaze vezmú miestnym BOHÁČOM! (= unseen/unprecedented financing)
Exkluzívny prieskum o plošnom testovaní: Slováci naň pôjdu, boja sa nákazy a chaosu (= exclusive survey)

Prelomový objav? Lacný liek znižuje riziko úmrtia na COVID-19, naznačujú prvé údaje (= groundbreaking discovery)
Prelomový výskum: COVID-19 je pre mozog toxický, podobne ako HIV (= groundbreaking research)
Prelomový čin slovenských biskupov: Prvýkrát jasne pomenovali konspiaráčne médiá (= groundbreaking act)
Prelomové úspech slovenskej firmy: Pracovali na vakcine proti koronavírusu, podarilo sa im niečo výnimočné! (= groundbreaking success)
Prelomový objav vedcov: Zistili, ako sa bráni nás imunitný systém proti koronavírusu (= groundbreaking discovery)
4.6. Emotionally marked expressive components

The tabloid news seeks inspiration through the “street” (this follows from the etymology of the word *boulevard*), so the expressive means taken from the colloquial style are asymptomatic and characteristic of the element. A discrepancy occurs here if we evaluate this element through the prism of the fundamentals of journalistic style. The principles that draw certain boundaries between news texts and journalistic texts continue to function in journalism. One of the crucial factors here is, for example, the choice of the lexicon: i.e., the possibility of using more meaningful and expressive words in journalistic genres. Journalistic texts differ from news texts in the exposure of the presence or absence of the author’s subjective attitude qualifier (Mistrík 1975). News genres are typical of an impersonal attitude of being factual. The writer’s personal view in any form is an unacceptable phenomenon as the news must have an informative function. If a journalist formulates his personal opinion in addition to information, then we are speaking about publicists and not news. The tabloids often ignore this rule (which confirms the well-known thesis about the syncretism of genres). Since the “report” as a genre contains an evaluative (opinion) element of the writer, which brings it closer to the commentary, it has become distant from “pure” news, and the commentary does not emphasize the information itself but is only an interpretation of the facts. Short tabloid reports seem to have given up on their information-only role; they often present the news via an emotionally marked expressive component of a statement. These contact expression elements attract attention and reveal the author’s attitude to the information provided at the outset. Burcl (2013) underlines that tabloids shock. They primarily monitor sales, and the form is superior to the content. The need to inform is only secondary. Headlines are subordinated to this strategy and, because of their distinctive nature, the term “screamer” is used.

Here are some examples extracted from the researched database:

*Je to zlé! Profesor Krčměry bije na poplach: Toto (ne)robit počas najbližších dní!* *Je to zlé!* = It is bad! *Bíť na poplach* = to beat a retreat, to raise an alarm (December 30, 2020, Cas.sk)

*Sôkujúce konanie v Tr. Teplej! V čase zákazu sa konalo zhromaždenie s vedomím obce. (December 17, 2020, Cas.sk)*

We can state that we did not detect any of the above frequently used tabloid press phrases in our corpus of non-tabloid texts.

This lexical initiation can take several forms, but the primary function is expressiveness. We notice that such elements of initiation no longer have a
lexical function and take on the function of a sign or mark via repetition, which allows the audience to identify texts with tabloid content more easily. It is not only about expressivity at the lexical level, but also about expressivity at the syntactic level (exclamations, shouts, elliptical evaluations often ending in an exclamation mark). This initiation can take several forms.

In the above examples, we have used lexical initiation samples with persuasion, i.e., a persuasive and evaluative element. However, an initiation can also be metaphorical, which has an evaluation element coupled with aesthetic intention. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor pervades everyday language as well as human thoughts and actions. They postulate that the potential of metaphors can be extended beyond capturing conventionalized patterns of thought. Metaphors can be imaginative and creative, thus giving us a new understanding of experiential stimuli.

Here are some examples as an illustration, although they are not in our database as we did not detect any of them:

- **Cirkus v Brazílii: Futbalisti hrajú napriek pozitívnym testom na COVID-19!**
  Cirkus = three-ring circus, a chaotic situation.
  (August 12, 2020, Pluska.sk)

- **Sulík je šampión sólojazdy**
  Šampión = champion, to be good at something; sólojazda = riding solo, do not need anyone.
  (October 22, 2020, Aktuality.sk)

- **Pýcha a pád plukovníka Prymulu**
  Pýcha a pád = ride for a fall, pride goes before a fall.
  (October 24, 2020, Pluska.sk)

We can explain the absence of these elements in our database as an accidental consequence of the investigated material’s time limit.

Another type of initiation is an initiation with a secret. The first sentence of the report is often inspired here by conversational style and thus contains phrases and sayings. We only detected a small number of such examples:

- **Niet pred ním úniku? Ďalšia krajina potvrdila prvý prípad zmutovaného koronavírusu**
  Niet úniku = no way out.
  (December 30, 2020, Cas.sk)

- **Takýto bizár ste ešte nevideli: Akvabely kvôli koronavírusu sútražili na suchu**
  Ešte nevideli = have not seen yet; takýto bizár = such a bizarre.
Toto predýchla len ťažko! Holý dostal od Mikasa výnimku z karantény.

Ďalšia výnimka od odborníka

Ťažko niečo predýcháť = hard to take, difficult to accept or endure, often due to being emotionally painful; štipľavý odkaz = mocking note.

Povedali to na plné ústa! Asociácia nemocníč Slovenska nešetri kritiku:

Povedavo na plné ústa = to give it to somebody straight.

Pellegrini to povedal na plné ústa: Vláda porušuje demokratické práva

Čo predýcháť = to be in a corner/up a gum tree, in a very difficult situation that one cannot get out of.

Ostrý odkaz premiérovi: Známny herec Ady Hajdu to Matovičovi takto vytmavil!

Ostrý odkaz = sharp reply/message; vytmaviť niekomu niečo = to explain.

We note that this kind of initiation, which draws from the phraseological units of folk provenance, often works with irony. The occurrence of irony--this new element in the news--enhances the segment of the author’s subjectivity. It becomes part of the implicit means which reveals the author’s opinion. For instance, the following initiation with a secret hides an ironic element that evaluates the peculiarity of the situation:

Takýto bizár ste ešte nevideli: Akvabely kvôli koronavírusu súťažili na suchu!

Finally, we will list some more eloquent examples of idioms focusing on coronavirus-related information, which have been taken from the headlines of our research corpus:
5. Conclusions

21st-century news is looking for expressive elements that update journalistic stereotypes. The range of expressive means includes elements taken from the colloquial style. However, this is not just about language means. Journalists purposefully take over all characteristic elements of this style to distort or possibly abolish the officiality of expression by subjective emotional initiations that force the percipient to adopt, in addition to the
information itself, a particular recommended emotional attitude to the report.

Phraseological units and phraseological constructions of folk provenance represent material that is used to increase the imagination and emotional charge of the news. It can also be an attitude provider, and sometimes deliver an element of irony.

As we have discussed, these tendencies are more visible in tabloids, where the journalistic style is determined by a colloquial format rather than a professional and administrative one. However, we detect similar tendencies in non-tabloids. In this context, we perceive a requirement to rectify the current situation where news is not characterized by complete objectivity, as it includes various subjectivizing elements of both a linguistic and non-linguistic nature. Based on our research, we assert that we should be more vigilant about the authorities’ language of communication towards the general public and concentrate more on the formulation of information in popular online spaces. In particular, this study has proven language’s strong influence on the perception of reality and the resulting behavior of individuals in our society.

References

CHAPTER FIFTEEN
THE LATEST PHRASEOLOGY
IN INTERNET DISCOURSE
RAYSA KHAYRULLINA,¹
FLYUZA FATKULLINA²

1. Introduction

The modern times can be described as the era of the global information society characterized by the rapid growth of information technologies and globalization of information processes. One of the manifestations of these processes is the emergence of the global Internet expanding in all spheres of society. The relevance of the research is based on the need to study the speech features characterizing the interaction of communication participants in the virtual space, in particular, the ways of formation and functioning of new phraseology. The purpose of this study is a structural and semantic analysis and classification of new phraseological units emerging in the Internet discourse. The authors analyzed more than 100 stable speech units with signs of reproducibility and idiomatic semantics. One of the principles of classifying phraseological units was the thematic principle as reflecting the socio-cultural processes of modern society.

2. Main Part

2.1. Problem Statement

Nowadays, people spend a lot of time in the Internet, merged into interpersonal virtual communication. The conditions of virtual space affect

¹ Bashkir State Pedagogical University named after M. Akmulla, Russia. rajhan@mail.ru
² Bashkir State University, Russia, fluzarus@rambler.ru
the way information is transmitted among communicants and introduce language tools inherent in oral colloquial speech into the process of written communication. This can be considered a marker that characterizes the modern language era. But the appeal of the Internet is not only in the ability to receive, transmit and process information. The development of Web 2.0 technology has allowed Internet users to use it as a platform for self-expression. Internet communication has become dominant due to the distance and anonymity of the interlocutors, the degree of user comfort has increased when maintaining contact with several people at the same time, when setting an arbitrary dialogue mode, with the ability to go offline.

2.2. Research questions

The anthropocentricity of the modern paradigm of scientific knowledge determines the increased interest of linguists in the role of the human factor in language, in the problems of communication between language and thinking, language personality, and communication (Khayrullina R.Kh., Fatkullina F.G. and all 2017, 17-26). By verbalizing human communication within the framework of activity, the language reflects human perception of the surrounding reality. Thus, the texts generated in the framework of this communication are a direct textual manifestation of the linguistic personality of a person, the idea expressed by Yu. Karaulov, in contrast to the general formula proposed by F. de Saussure that

“there is a language system underneath every text” (Karaulov 1989, 4).

The relevance of the study of speech features that characterize the interaction of communication participants in the virtual space is determined, firstly, by the expansion of borders and the demand for virtual communication in the Runet; secondly, the phenomenon of Internet communication and virtual discourse itself which represent a special type of organization and implementation of communication in the context of diverse, dynamic, content – compressive information flows which tend, on the one hand, to universalize and unify the methods and means of information transmission, and on the other – to individualize the speech of modern Internet communicants; thirdly, the lack of proper linguistic research in the field of Internet discourse, especially Internet communication of representatives of different communities.

It is known that the phraseological foundation of the language develops very slowly, but the Internet discourse accelerates this process, since new stable units of different types become available to a large audience,
bypassing the long process of phraseologization – fixing a figurative meaning for a collocation.

The study of electronic communication is very popular today and certain directions have already been outlined in the consideration of virtual discourse (Antonova 2013; Barbatsis 2012; Bergelson 1992; Breido 1996; Butorina 2017; Voiskunsky 2003; Galichkina 2012; Goroshko 2007; Zemskaya 1992; Kapanadze 2001; Petrova 2012; Trofimova 2012; Hansen 2012; Hartung 2012 etc.), in the study of computer jargon (Ermakova 2010; Sheigal 1984). The linguistic concept of hypertext is covered in the works of M. Viezel’, O. V. Dedova, N. F. Kovaleva, S. V. Lesnikov, M. L. Remneva, V. L. Epstein and other scientists (Viezel’ 1999; Dedova 2001; Kovaleva 2004; Remneva 2001; Epstein 1991). In most works, only certain features of virtual discourse are studied, and the problem of language functioning in the new communicative space remains unresolved. As for the research into phraseological units emerging in the most recent years, there are no fundamental works in this area. This study also does not exhaust the key issues of studying it in the Internet discourse, but attempts to classify the idiomatic expressions themselves, to consider the ways of their occurrence and the features of their functioning.

In order to describe the structure and semantic space of modern phraseology, it is necessary to give a general description of the Internet discourse itself.

With the advent of the world wide web, communication has reached a qualitatively new level – virtual, which is characterized by both positive and negative characteristics. In this study, we relied on the model of virtual communication proposed by N. G. Asmus, where the author proposes to present communication in the form of communication networks. According to the researcher, virtual communication is a multi-channel network characterized by the fact that information is transmitted in any direction: from the communicator to the recipient, between recipients, and back to the communicator (Asmus 2005, 32).

The proposed scheme, in our opinion, takes into account the unlimited number of participants in communication, the dialogical nature of communication (i.e., the principle of feedback) and the multiplicity of interpretations of the message.

G. G. Pochepstov suggests the term “communicative square” which means the impact on the complex of communicative acts united by a common task and situational conditions, by both participants of the communicative act. When making a statement, the communication participant focuses on the real or potential interlocutor and takes into account not only the situation and context of communication, but also the
communicative behavior of the communicant as a whole. In response, the recipient generates information that is realized by both participants and represents a reflection of two minds (Pocheptsov 2020, 300).

Today, the global Network has a huge impact on the masses because today there is a trend of psychological dependence of users on the Internet. The global information space is built on the principles of integration of local communities (limited by the state, territory, nation) into the global communication environment. This allows you to influence a large number of users with the help of innovative technologies which can include communication in online communities. The advantages of communication in such groups include high speed of information dissemination and anonymity of users (Volosatova 2012, 109).

American researchers believe that anonymity, coupled with full freedom of speech in a multicultural space, develops social tolerance (Yurkov 2012, 46). However, anonymity on the Internet has a downside: it also allows you to create extremist communities and use the Network as a tool for inciting discord, as happened in the “Arab Spring” (Sociokul'turnyj potencial seti Internet, 2015).

With the emergence of a new communicative space, the main functions of the language are implemented in new conditions. The functioning of language in electronic communication environments involves revision of the methodology of linguistic research, requires the study of the language from the point of view of its native speaker and the environment in which it functions. The British researcher D. Krystal writes about the need to define a name for this medium, and suggests several terms: “computer-mediated communication”, “electronic discourse” and others (Crystal 2001).

In Russian science, such terms as “electronic communication”, “virtual communication”, “computer communication”, “network communication”, “Internet communication”, as well as “computer or electronic discourse” are used, but neither in domestic nor in foreign linguistics there is yet an accurate and generally accepted definition of the communicative space.

Despite the technical origin of the Internet, it is filled and formed with the help of language. This dichotomy is characterized by the following features: the combination of different types of discourse, oral and written speech of communication participants, creolization of the text, the presence of a special network etiquette, etc. However, all of them are potential, since they are used in an irregular manner.

The Internet functions as a new communicative space arranged according to the network principle, which means that “in it, various cultural fragments in the form of a mosaic can be represented in their potential infinity. Because of this, the virtual discourse is distinguished by
its fundamental openness (texts, data banks, links), which allows the participant to add, change, and delete the original text. Digital electronics turn any information (text, graphics, audio, video) into streams of bits, i.e. connects different-quality information flows in a single space. This ensures the endless generation of signs and texts (text generation), the combination of various texts (visual, auditory, interactive), the connection of various discourses (political, economic, confessional, etc.). The branching structure of the network dissolves the rigid fixity of the text, which, in turn, makes it impossible to make any unambiguous interpretation, prediction of possible receptive versions of the text (Neroznak 2002-2003, 102).

Despite the virtual nature of communication, the subject of Internet discourse, as well as real discourse, is a linguistic personality. Virtual discourse is objectively distinguished from others on the basis of constitutive features: the composition of participants, their goals, values, strategies, and precedent phenomena. Participants in virtual discourse represent a new type of linguistic personality: virtual, characterized by a displaced real identity in a virtual environment (Maslennikov, Mihajlova 2017, 156).

According to S. V. Leorda, the speech portrait is the embodiment of the language personality in speech, while it can be considered both the language personality of an individual and the language personality of a certain social community (Leorda 2006, 6-7). The speech of representatives of any community is characterized by a certain set of specific factors (lexical units, set phrases, grammatical constructions, etc.), the analysis of this set of

"language and speech characteristics of a communicative person or a certain society in a particular period of existence" (Karaulov 1989, 78)

allows us to create a speech portrait of this community.

The human factor in language and, accordingly, in speech communication always reflects the “linguistic taste of the epoch” and the person him/herself as a representative of their society. In this regard, one of the urgent tasks of linguistics is to describe the image of a person in Internet communication.

“Modern linguistic paradigm is focused on homo loquens and homo lingualis,“ (Khairullina, Sozinova 2011, 1114).

New conditions of communication via the Internet require new language means of communication, or transformation of old ones:
language is not only a means of communication, but also a means of creating virtual reality;
slang developed by Internet users is partially converted into common vocabulary;
the language personality needs new ways of self-presentation and isolation from the mass of users;
electronic correspondence, in particular – written speech, performs the function of oral, borrowing the main features of the latter;
the conditions of virtual space contribute to the approach of communication to the game.

The Internet forces language to change at a faster rate reflecting the trends of rapid social development. Thus, the Russian language needs certain transformations for its adaptation to the new conditions of existence of the individual and society in the world network in order to ensure their most comfortable entry into the global virtual space. The essential characteristics of these changes are defined as conceptual dominants of the functioning of the Russian language in the Internet.

Oral and written forms of communication enter into a complex competitive interaction. The electronic form of speech is characterized by the following features:

extra-linguistic: netinet (the etiquette of online behavior), emoticons (graphic markers of emotions and moods), creolized (combining verbal and visual code) texts, hypertext and more;
linguistic, from computer jargon and the special treatment of spelling and punctuation to the specific communicative tactics and strategies of communication (Efremov 2013, 72).

The creativity of the linguistic virtual personality in the communicative space of the network is constantly growing, this is most clearly manifested at the lexical level with the appearance of special computer slang. The democratic nature of communication on the Internet gradually captures business communication, which, according to psychologists, helps to reduce stress in professional communication on the Network.

Individual speech manner of a communcant, or carnival manner, according to the definition of N. G. Asmus, is manifested in a non-standard approach to the choice of a virtual name (nickname) which carries information about the personality and speech actions of the user (Asmus 2005, 53). Speech creation of a language personality is manifested
in its reflection on its behavior, in particular in language game, and verbal creativity is expressed in the ability to create various texts.

Language game that allows you to demonstrate wit, a sense of humor, etc., is often used by participants of virtual discourse because it gives them the opportunity to express themselves, to present themselves in a favorable light. Language game in virtual discourse covers all levels of the language system (graphic, lexical, phraseological, morphological and syntactic) and at each of them manifests itself in the interaction of stable and unstable elements of the level. In most cases, the language game of a virtual language personality aims either to show the discrepancy between the virtual world and the real world in a humorous way, or to become a means of self-presentation.

The peculiarity of communication on the Internet is that communication often occurs in an asynchronous rather than synchronous mode. The process of detemporalization of the virtual linguistic personality is also reflected at the language level. Instead of traditional greetings “Good afternoon (evening)”, participants of virtual communication are increasingly using a neutral “Good day to you!” In addition, the interlocutors may be in different time zones, so the precautionary politeness is not considered superfluous. In other words, users are in a spatial situation where the category of time functions depending on the “online” nature of the subjects of communication and has no limit (Isaeva 2011, 44).

The distinctive features of the Internet communication style are hypertextuality and imprinted colloquialism. A qualitatively new feature of the style is also its spontaneity, despite the written reproduction. Therefore, we can highlight the features of virtual communication at almost all levels of the language:

- the graphic form of some words is close to the sound and similar to transcription. Such deviations from the spelling norm can be situational in nature, be both conventional and traditional, generally accepted. Often there are attempts to reflect the intonation color of the phrase not only due to emoticons, but also due to the designation of stretched vowels, as well as attempts to describe the features of the discourse, conditions (here and further examples from the public are given in the author's spelling and punctuation design):

  “После дли-ин-инельного перерыва и я буду :) оу её”

  (After a loooong break, I also will :) ow ye-ye)

Traditional abbreviations used in writing – etc., max, min; alphanumeric abbreviations – w8 (Wait), 10X (thanks); idiomatic writing – some $; non-
traditional ways of word formation (for example, Internet neologisms, calculus) (172);
- at the level of vocabulary colloquial, often rude-colloquial vocabulary is often used:

Паше желаем всего самого охрененного, фarta и упорства. Давние видосы плохого качества, когда Паша был в Бурятии и крали монахов из монастырей.

(We wish Pasha all the most fucking, lucky streak and perseverance. Old videos of poor quality, when Pasha was in Buryatia and stole monks from monasteries).

- jargon that is common only among Internet users:

“агонь братиш, презентовали “Иена Кёртиса” с новым текстом, который вроде зашёл. Жаль только, что пришлось орать, ибо микрофон дикцию бы тупо не вывез. Решили не рисковать и тянуть всё на голосах. И кажется вытянули”.

(Just booming bro, they presented “Ian Curtis” with a new text that seems to have hit the goal. It's just a pity that I had to yell, because the microphone, like, would not have coped with the diction. We decided not to take risks and pull everything by voices. And it seems that they did it).

In parallel with the borrowing of mainly English-language words to convey new meanings, new meanings are also developing in words of native Russian. For example, the word “страница” (page) takes on a new meaning, synonymous with the meaning of the word Internet site borrowed from the English language – “address and place of storage of information on the Internet”. Among other phenomena of the lexical level, we can note the active use of abbreviations and acronyms such as “msk” (Moscow), “ekb” (Ekaterinburg).

The most frequent types of word formation are:

- univerbation with the suffix “-к(a)”: “листалка” (swiper, or the program to turn pages), “гифка” (GIF);
- truncating with regressive derivation, where the morphemic seam is not a mandatory place of truncation (instead of “скопируй программу” (copy the program) – “скачай прогу” (copy the prog). Interesting cases are when the borrowed element – the root
– a characteristic feature of the language syntax is the tendency to agrammatism, i.e. deviation from the syntactic and punctuation norms of the literary language on the part of the text producer. Agrammatism is rather not conventional, as in the telegraph style, but occasional (random) in nature (probably came from Twitter or sms, due to the restriction on the number of characters in messages); the use of constructions close to colloquial: when corresponding in chats, the symbol “+1”, “+100500” or “plus” is used to confirm or fully agree with the previously expressed idea.

Especially active in virtual communication is the action of the law of language economy (or economy of speech effort). The desire for economy of language expression is found at different levels of the language system – in vocabulary, word formation, morphology, syntax. The economy of language forms is evidenced by a variety of abbreviations, especially if they acquire a permanent form of names – nouns that can obey the norms of grammar.

2.3. Analysis of phraseological units

It is known that the use of phraseological units in speech, and even more so the transformation of common phraseological units and their use to create a language game, the creation of occasional stable turns indicates a high level of language proficiency. Therefore, the use of new idioms in the online discourse, as shown by our study, is typical, especially for wordsmiths (writers, journalists, University professors, public figures, etc.). In everyday speech the social network users usually use the usual idioms, fixed in dictionaries.

Facebook, Instagram, Vkontakte and some more private thematic electronic resources (education, medicine and society) have been studied by us in the electronic resources of news sites, newspapers, thematic forums, world social networks. This classification of the latest phraseological units and their analysis do not claim to be exhaustive, since the virtual communicative space is vast and dynamic. And in relation to the phraseology it can be noted that new units are quickly enough included in the usual case.

Let's give a general description of the latest phraseological units. As our analysis shows, the corpus of new phraseological units is characterized by a wide variety of both semantics and structure. However, there were no
deviations from the linguistic features of phraseology as a language unit. According to the grammatical structure in the considered array of phraseological units, it is possible to distinguish communicative phrases-sentences:

*Да куда ты денешься с подводной лодки! – Oh, where will you go from a submarine!*  
*Мамы, они такие – Mothers, they are like that!*  
*Улыбаемся и машем – Smile and wave!*  
*Не верь, не бейся, не проси! – Never believe, never be afraid, never beg!*  
*Денег нет, но вы держитесь – There is no money, but you should hold on!*

phraseological phrases:  
*Испанский стыд – Spanish shame*  
*Хиреть на корню – to wither on the vine*  
*Пробить очередное дно – to break the next record*

unit as word forms:  
*Ой, все! – Oh, enough is enough!*  
*И че? – So what?*  
*Да ладно! – Come on!*

As part of such idioms, colloquial words and jargons, colloquial phonetic forms of words can be used: “хиреть” – “to wither, to weaken”; “чё” – “what”.

By semantics, phraseological units can be grouped into thematic groups in accordance with the interests and socio-cultural needs of different social groups (socio-political phraseology, slang phraseology, medical / pandemic phraseology, case expressions, etc.).

The principles of classification of new phraseological units do not fully correspond to the principles of classification on the basis of semantic fusion between the components of Prof. V.V. Vinogradov. The only type according to this classification that occurs among new collocations is phraseological unities with a figurative meaning. Most often, clichéd stable phrases which function in Internet discourse convey a stereotypical situation and can be used to describe different situations due to the unsupported syntactic position in the utterance. For example: the phrase “N – такие N!” (sb are such sb!) denotes typical features of an object that are common to all members of this class.
Девочки такие девочки – Girls are such girls! (meaning that girls are so girlish)
Артисты такие артисты! – Artists are such artists!

It seems that such phrasemes reflect the process of general stereotyping of the thinking of users of the virtual environment as a manifestation, firstly, of the mode of speech economy, and secondly, of the popularity of some memes with these cliches.

Let’s consider each group of phraseological units.

1. **Phraseological units-calques.** These units are a literal translation into Russian of phraseological phrases from other languages, mainly from English. For example: “вишенка на торте” (the cherry on top). It has two meanings: 1) “A nice bonus to the main event, phenomenon, etc.” 2) “The final unpleasant accent in the chain of failures”. The development of polysemy (enantiosemia) in this phraseology indicates its frequency of use and gradual entry into the usual corpus of the phraseological units of the Russian language.

A number of phrasemes can be referred to calques from English:

- То, что доктор прописал – What the doctor prescribed
- Испанский стыд – Spanish shame
- Это не есть хорошо – This is not good
- Последний ястреб – The last hawk

2. **Phraseological units - stable cliches** that function in the direct sense, but are characterized by reproducibility and stability of the structure. For example:

- Это сделало мой день – It made my day!
- Теперь ты видел все! – Now you’ve seen everything.
- А что, так можно было? – I forgot that’s even an option.

Each of them is used as a logical conclusion on a certain stereotypical situation. So, the phrase “Теперь ты видел все! “ (Now you’ve seen everything) is given after the presentation (textual or illustrative) of an unusual or incomprehensible phenomenon or event, the description of which changes the usual ideas about something.

3. **Phraseological units - Stable syntactic constructions** with an unsubstituted position of any member of the sentence, more often the subject or direct complement. E.g.: “Н, они такие; N - такие N” (Ns, they are like this; Ns are such Ns). “Н еще никто не отменял “ (nobody has...
canceled N – phraseme usually conveying the meaning that sth is still to be done) where N can denote a person, a process, or an action.

3. **Phraseological units**, collocations with figurative semantics, are usually motivated by stereotypical situations in the workplace, in everyday life, and in private life. E.g:

   Да куда ты денешься с подводной лодки! – Oh, where will you go from a submarine!
   Пробить очередное дно – To break (another) record
   Хиреть на корню – To wither on vine
   Взмыть в небеса – To soar into the sky
   Пороховой погреб – Powder magazine
   Точка невозврата – Point of no return
   Рассмотр в пользу бедных – Talk in favor of the poor
   Особая философия – Special philosophy
   Большой оригинал – A great original
   Свои тараканы в голове – to have one’s own demons
   Взрыв мозга – mind blown

   Shaped component of these phraseological units is based on the semantics of the components (“submarine” – “an enclosed space underwater, where there is no escape until a certain time, that is, the ascent to the surface”; “powder magazine” – “an explosive place”; “to soar into the sky” – “a sharp climb” etc.).

4. **Slang and colloquial phraseological units** includes three components or jargon (often Russified words from the English language). For example:

   Опрашивать зад – to put on weight
   Словить хайп – to catch hype
   Концертный чес – theatre touring
   На понтах – defiantly
   Пилить сториз – upload your story to Instagram
   Кукха поехала – lost one’s mind

5. **Socio-political phraseological units**

   Арабская весна – Arab spring
   Золотой миллиард – golden billion
   Возрастные люди – elderly people
6. **Precedent expressions** — stable phrases that have become widespread from books, films, statements of public figures, etc. In this group, we also included transformations of well-known case phrases. E.g.:

- Улыбаемся и машем! — Smile and wave!
- Все в сад! — Everyone to the garden!
- Ярмарка тщеславия — Vanity Fair
- Унесенные ветром — Gone with the Wind
- Птичку жалко — Sorry for the Bird
- Денег нет, но вы держитесь — There is no money, but you should hold on!

8. **Phraseological units** that are thematically determined by the modern epidemic situation. For example:

- Удаленный режим работы — remote operation mode
- Масочный режим — mask mode
- Социальная дистанция — social distance
- Красная зона — red zone

9. **Phraseological units** of interjective character. For example:

- Ой, все! — Enough is enough!
- И че? — So what?
- Да ладно! — Come on!

The development of phraseological units is characterized by some features. As the research material shows, these include such processes as semantic variation of phraseology (most often expanding the meaning or adapting the meaning to a specific situation in an utterance), transformation of phraseology with a change in the component composition using a word that more accurately reflects the speech situation or grammatical structure, creation of new phrasemes by association with a common unit using its individual components.

Let's look at the examples of how these processes are implemented.

**Semantic variation of phraseology** is due to its certain semantic vagueness. Such a unit has not yet formed a new separate meaning (as known, polysemy is not often found in phraseology), and in a certain context, different but similar meanings can be attributed to this collocation.

E.g.: “разговор в пользу бедных” (talk in favor of the poor) is used, on the one hand, in the meaning of “empty words and general discussions
The Latest Phraseology in Internet Discourse

about the situation of people with low income”, and on the other hand, in the general meaning of t”rash talk. “

The transformation of phraseological units is a change in its component composition, more often in the direction of its complement or specification. For example:

“… управляющая компания говорит, что показания автоматически передаются в БашРТС, и никто показания не снимает. Вот такой вот футбол в одни ворота”.

(The management company says that the readings are automatically transmitted to the Bashkir heat distribution networks, and no one takes the readings. That’s the kind of football at one goal).

In this example, the usual phraseology “игра в одни ворота” (a play at one goal) (collision, a dispute in which one of the parties is clearly stronger and therefore wins) is transformed, in which the game component is replaced by the name of a specific sports game –” football”, but the meaning in general does not change.

We can see the reinterpretation of the phraseme “‘От сумы да от тюрьмы не зарекайся’ (never say prison or beggar's bag is not for you), or (we can make it into misery or into joy), which means that no one is immune from prison and impoverishment, and more broadly – from any troubles and misfortunes) in the statement:

“Молодуха устыживается и прикрывает рот: развода нормальная женщина боится пуще тюрьмы или сумы”.

(The young woman gets ashamed and shuts her mouth: a normal woman is afraid of divorce more than prison or beggar's bag).

It is impossible to predict how life will turn out, what adversities fate has prepared for a person, says folk wisdom in this phraseme. “To be more afraid than a prison or a beggar's bag” means to expect it with fear.

The same process is observed when using the transformed idiom “осиное гнездо” (wasp's nest):

“Свекровь периодически, конечно, из своего осиного гнездовища выпрыгивает – невестку воспитывает”.

(Of course, periodically, the mother-in-law jumps out of her wasp's nest to lecture her daughter-in-law).
The phraseme wasp’s nest means “a crowd of unpleasant, full of malice towards each other or socially harmful, hostile people, their home, location”. In this case, the degree of hostility reflects the form of subjective evaluation of the word “nest”.

The transformation of the component composition in order to increase the figurativeness of phraseology takes place in the use of the idiom “бить баклуши” (to beat the bucket):

“На службе, чай, он не баклуши попинывал, а семью обеспечивал. Имеет законное право отдохнуть”.

(In his job, he did not beat the bucket, but provided for the family. So he has a legal right to rest).

The form of the verb “попинывал” (от глагола “пинать” – “kick”), firstly, denotes the action occasionally and secondly, there is an element of language play – contamination of the two idioms – “бить баклуши” (to beat the bucket) and “пинать пыль” (to kick the dust/laze), sarcastically reinforcing effect.

Changes in the use of phraseology may also change its structure:

“Отношения в семье, конечно, натянутой струной и даже воздух звенит”.

(The relationship in the family, of course, is strained and even the air is ringing with tension).

The usual idiom “Как натянутая струна” (tight as string) usually characterizes the nervous, emotional state of a person. In this case, the phraseme is used in instrumental case instead of its usual comparative construction and characterizes the relationship between people.

A similar transformation is shown by the idiom “как мышь” (like a mouse – quietly, imperceptibly) in the sentence:

“Мы с мужем не вмешивались. Сидели мышами под веником в своей комнате с кошкой и собакой”.

(My husband and I did not interfere. We sat like mice under a broom in our room with the cat and the dog).

Phraseological unit “сидеть мышами под веником” (to sit like mice under a broom) conveys the situation more figuratively and expressively.
Here, too, the comparative form of the idiom is replaced by the instrumental case.

Internet discourse often uses precedent expressions that are also undergoing transformation. E.g.:

“I would say: our immune system does not live for the sake of antibodies alone.”

The well-known saying “Не хлебом единым жив человек” (Man does not live by bread alone) is paraphrased in the context of modern realities.

With the transformation of the idiom “Всё в сад!” (All to the garden!) (from the movie “Hello, I’m your aunt!”), which has the meaning “request to leave the room” is transformed by the structure:

“А всех неверящих в сад, погулять!”

(And all those who do not believe should go the garden and take a walk!)

Some precedent expressions are used without changing forms, but in figurative meaning: “Ярмарка тщеславия” (Vanity Fair) (the title of the novel by W. Thackeray), “Унесенные ветром” (Gone with the wind) (the title of the novel by M. Mitchell):

“Со второй половины прошлого века, когда появилась массовая культура, общедоступные технологии, вдруг выяснилось, что жизнь строится на алчности, безудержном потреблении и развлечениях на ярмарке тщеславия”.

(Since the second half of the last century, when mass culture and available technologies came to the scene, it suddenly turned out that life is based on greed, unbridled consumption and entertainment at vanity fair).

“Когда мы жили в странном прекрасном мире, где люди целовались при встрече..., но теперь это дивный сон, практически цивилизация, унесенная ветром”.

(When we lived in strange beautiful world where people kissed when meeting each other... but now it’s a beautiful dream, almost a civilization gone with the wind).
Some precedent expressions acquire new components that develop their semantics:

"...если убийца угнетен по факту своего происхождения, то он уже и не убийца. Понять - простить – отпустить".

(... if a murderer is oppressed by the fact of his origin, then he is no longer a murderer. To understand is to forgive and to let go).

The component “let go” has been added to clarify the actions.

2.4. Conclusions

Thus, based on the analysis of the latest phraseology, it can be concluded that new phraseological units are constantly being formed in the Internet discourse, firstly, reflecting modern socio-cultural trends in the development of society, and secondly, such units penetrate into the national language much faster than in the last century, due to the coverage of the Internet discourse by a huge number of users, and thirdly, many common phraseological units begin to sound in a new way due to their transformation and language play.

References


Butorina, N. “Teoreticheskie aspekty primeneniya elektronnyh obuchayushih sredstv v sovremennom muzikalno-hudozhchestvennom obrazovanii".


1. Introduction

This article describes an attempt to analyze the use of transformed phraseological units (PUs) in the context. The following problems arise: 1) detection and analysis of semantics and semantic structure of transformed phraseological units; 2) allocation of general features of using such PUs in the context; 3) investigation of pragmatic aspect of discoursal use of phraseological transformations in classical works of English and Russian literature. Semantic, grammatical, componential and contextual aspects of using such PUs are analyzed in the present research.

It is the aim of this article to reveal and analyze phraseological paradigm of transformed PUs in the context within two remote cognates. The paper presents the analysis of semantic macro and micro structures of PUs in English and Russian languages. The semantic analysis of PUs gives us a fundamental understanding of the meaning of PU as a combination of two major macro components: 1) signification and denotation; 2) connotation. These points are young and new.

This is essential for our purposes. The analysis indicates that there are common and different features within two remote cognates when we find
Pragmatical Aspect of Discoursal Use of Phraseological Transformations

in Classical works of English and Russian Authors

phraseological transformations in classical works of native and foreign languages. These observations highlight the need for further investigation of these points. The outcomes of transforming PUs in the context of classical literature are numerous in both English and Russian. But they are active in use to a different extent.


"Phraseological studies became even more multiaspectual in the XXI century" (Ayupova et al, 2020, 233).

This trend continues today.

Revealing transformed PUs in the context is a case of great practical interest. The important point of our work is recognizing, understanding and investigating peculiarities of phraseological transformations. This chapter will be concerned with such processes.

Componental, semantic and structural analysis of transformed PUs proves that these linguistic processes inform, inspire and attract readers' attention in both languages. The article presents the analysis and description of linguistic devices used by authors of both cultures for transforming phraseological units. It means that phraseological transformations of PUs can be found in classical works of both English and Russian literature.
A number of methods have been used to meet our objective. They are: continuous sampling method (samples were taken from classical works of English and Russian literature); method of phraseological identification; method of phraseological description; method of definitional analysis; method of componential analysis; method of semantic structural analysis; method of comparative analysis (phraseological phenomena is investigated and compared in two remote cognates).

2. Main Part

2.1. Pragmatical aspect of discoursal use of phraseological transformations

Currently, there is a considerable interest in the functional side of language in studies of modern linguistic science. Researchers turn to studying use and behavior of language units in various contexts. The object of our research is a PU and its transformation in the context. This approach makes it possible to recognize a phraseological unit in the context, to choose the pragmatic equivalent of a unit in another language taking into account the denotation and connotation caused by the cultural, historical, intellectual, psychological and other characteristics of a linguocultural community.

In the process of development and functioning, many literary languages expand their vocabulary with a significant number of new words and expressions, including those borrowed from different languages of the world. One part of the language units becomes obsolete, the other becomes commonly used in new contexts.

“Due to the peculiarities of its historical development, modern English has come close to changing its system from flective to agglutinative. As a consequence of this trend in development, phraseological units, i.e. stable combinations of words with a fully or partially reinterpreted meaning, are used when new phenomena or objects need to be named” (Fedulenkova 2018, 115).

In this chapter we present the results of the study of occasional use of PUs in classical works of English and Russian literature. We are convinced that such PUs are active and productive in both languages. The results of the investigation are demonstrated and proved by the properties of materials.

Different types of occasional transformations of PUs have already been the subject of research based on the material of different languages.

2.2. Ways of phraseological transformations in the context

We shall often illustrate our arguments by examples of authors’ occasional use of PUs in English and Russian literature.

I) Let us begin by considering one of the most common ways of occasional innovation of PU – wedging (insertion). V.M. Mokienko notes:

“Insertion causes ‘semantic overtension’ of a phraseological unit and is used as a means of strengthening its expressiveness; it is a special way of actualizing its internal form (Mokienko 1980, 117).

The following example serves to show that we deal with a complicated type of deformation of a phraseological unit: wedging, rearrangement and substitution of components simultaneously occur in a Russian phraseological unit “покатываться со смеху” having the meaning “can’t stop laughing”. We now prove this statement:

Зурин рассказывал мне армейские анекдоты, от которых я со смеху чуть не валялся, и мы встали из-за стола совершенными приятелями (Pushkin 1994, 41).

We observe the insertion of the following components: “чуть” meaning “very nearly” and “не” implying the opposite of the next word; then there is a substitution of the verb “покатываться” meaning “make sounds and movements of the face and body showing amusement, joy” for the colloquial word “вальться” having the meaning “make great sounds
and movements of the face and body showing ridiculous amusement and joy” (the verb is used in the past tense) in Russian; also rearrangement of the components of this phraseological unit occurs. This example of transforming PU definitely has semantic overtension. It is used by the author for a bright expressive description of the situation.

It is important to note that the main purpose of use of such phraseological transformation as wedging really has emotional impact on the reader in Nekrasov’s lyrics:

Не тужи! Как умрем,
Кто-нибудь и об нас проболтается
Добрым словцом (Nekrasov 1968, 52).

PU “обменяться словом (словечком) с кем” having the meaning “to say things; discuss something” is used by the author in the following way: the component “обменяться”, having the meaning “to commit, to do something mutually” (in this context “обменяться словом” means “speak to give information”) is replaced by a colloquial word “проболтаться” having the meaning “blurt, to blurt out something”. The author stresses that if someone dies in this life, somebody may remember or not his or her former existence. The author also emphasizes the hope that somebody will say a good word, not a bad one after his or her death. For this purpose the component “доброе” having the meaning “showing sympathy or love for others” is inserted into the PU. In addition, the component –the diminutive word “словечко” having the meaning “something said; statement” is replaced by the component –a rude word “словцо” having the same meaning. Such use of PU gives doubt and irony to the entire meaning of the phraseological unit used in the context – maybe they will say, but maybe not, but if they do, then, at least, a good word. This example emphasizes a peculiarity of most cultures of the world to say only good things about those who are no longer in this life.

“Phraseological units and their meanings reflect the long-lived process of the development of any culture. They record and hand on culture’s imprints, patterns, stereotypes and archetypes” (Kayumova et al 2019, 55).

Let us look at the use of PU “придавать значение чему”, stylistically bookish expression having the meaning “take seriously, thoughtfully” in the following context:

Александр Петрович придавал большое значение человеческому отношению к пленным (Iskander 1990, 93).
We find the use of the adjective “большое” meaning “of great size; generous; not restricted”. The word intensifies and strengthens positive evaluative connotation of denotative meaning of the phraseological unit. This use of PU allows readers to treat Alexander Petrovich, who had to manage the lives of prisoners, with great respect.

In the following context, the reader empathizes with characters, gets used to their sad and down life situation, as the young spouses have the banal situation of the divorce and they are returning to Paris, where they are going to live separately:

“We followed the porter down the platform beside the train. We were returning to Paris to set up separate residences” (Hemingway 1976, 75).

PU “to set up residences” has the meaning “to live; to have one’s home”. We observe that it has an inserting component “separate” with the meaning “individual; divided; not joined or united; not physically united” in the example above. This method of transforming PU leads to an increase of the emotional and expressive facets of connotation of phraseological unit, since the componential and semantic criteria for the formation of expressiveness combined together in this PU, do work effectively. The reader is sad to realize that now a new life for former spouses without each other starts.

Let us consider an example in which a phraseological unit “to be good at” having the meaning “be competent; be efficient; be able to do satisfactorily what is required” is used with the wedged component “any” having the meaning “no matter which”. It is used to convey the owner John’s permanent feeling of ownership, a feeling that the author John Galsworthy often emphasizes when he describes this character in his novel “The Forsyte Saga”. The image of the main hero is also enhanced, thanks to the sense of expressiveness in the meaning of PU in the context:

John agreed that this would be a good remedy: “It's their sense of property” he said, “which makes people chain things. I don't suppose I shall be any good at making money” (Galsworthy 2004, 151).

We understand that the hero is seized with the sense of doubts about ownership. We realise that he undoubtedly is as much a proprietor, as the rest of the Forsyte family successful in making money.

We shall now show a similar use of wedging as one of the methods of occasional innovation of PU in other examples:
“Well, I think you’re running awful risk. You should be careful”
(Beecher-Stowe 2004, 54).

The phraseological unit “to run a risk” is used in the sense of “to risk, put one’s life in danger” in this extract. An inserted component “awful” has the meaning “very bad; very large; extreme in its own way” and it is enhancing the sense of expressiveness of the phraseological unit itself.

The following example demonstrates simultaneous insertion of several components in the PU “to love with all heart”, which has the meaning “have very strong affection or very deep tender feelings for”. The components “his”, “passionate” having the meaning “filled with, showing strong feeling of love or anger” and the word “young” having the meaning “(contrasted with old) not far advanced in life, growth, development etc.” are inserted in the structure of PU. Thanks to the method of wedging, used by the author, strong emotional impact on the reader occurs in the context. As a result the recipient experiences sadness and sorrow with the main hero of the story “Salvatore” by S. Maugham:

It was hardest of all for Salvatore to be parted from the girl he loved with all his passionate young heart. He wrote to her long, ill-spelt letters (Maugham 2000, 69).

We take an attempt to prove that wedging is, in fact, one of the most frequently used and widespread ways of occasional innovation of PU in both English and Russian literature. We consider in detail the behavior of such phraseological units in context.

II. Substitution of a lexical component or components in the structure of PU is another way to increase impact on a reader. The essence of this way is to omit one or more components from the structure of PU and fill the empty places with other elements that best match the context. It should be noted that the most vulnerable components are those involved in the formation of the evaluative component of the semantic structure, thanks to which the strengthening of imagery in the context is achieved. In Russian we found the use of this method of transformation in the context performed by a Russian poet Nekrasov:

Не без добрых душ на свете –
Кто-нибудь свезет в Москву,
Будешь в университете –
Сон свершится навсегда! (Nekrasov 1968, 69).
Close observation shows that not only substitution of the component “мир” meaning “the earth, its countries and people” for the combination of such components as “на” having the meaning of preposition “at” and the component “свете” meaning “the earth” at the end of the phraseological unit, besides, rearrangement of these components occurs; moreover, the component “людей” having the meaning “persons in general” is substituted by the component “душ” having the meaning “persons”. The result is a bright expressiveness of the situation, reader’s excitement, emotional outburst and empathy. Among other things this result shows that the author’s occasional use of the PU evokes reader’s associations and emotions.

We have here another example of substituting components in PU “под ногами не является” having the meaning “not so easy to find somebody or something”. We proceed to a more or less detailed study of this example of phraseological transformation. The preposition “под” having the meaning “in a position lower than” and the noun “ногами” having the meaning “one of the parts of a person’s body, used for walking” are substituted for components: preposition “на” having the meaning of place “at” and the noun “улице” having the meaning “town or village road” in the following context:

“The reader realizes that the heroes are on a knife edge. They are out of money and work. They really are in a very difficult situation.

In what follows we identify PU “попасть (влеваться) в историю” having the meaning “being in a difficult, dangerous and unpleasant position”. The Russian author Nabokov substitutes the component “попасть” having the neutral meaning “being, finding yourself in some place, position, circumstances” for the stylistically colloquial verb “втянуться”, having the sense of expressiveness in the meaning “to get into an unpleasant, bad, nasty position” in the passage below:

“The reader realizes that the heroes are on a knife edge. They are out of money and work. They really are in a very difficult situation.

In what follows we identify PU “попасть (влеваться) в историю” having the meaning “being in a difficult, dangerous and unpleasant position”. The Russian author Nabokov substitutes the component “попасть” having the neutral meaning “being, finding yourself in some place, position, circumstances” for the stylistically colloquial verb “втянуться”, having the sense of expressiveness in the meaning “to get into an unpleasant, bad, nasty position” in the passage below:
An extract below from J. Osborne’s novel “The Entertainer” demonstrates another phraseological transformation:

Billy: Are you all right? You look as though you’ve been keeping late nights or something. What have you been doing with yourself? Lots of these parties, eh?
Jean: No, not really (Osborne 1993, 95).

PU “to keep late hours” having the meaning “usually (habitually) go to sleep late; to work late hours” is transformed by the author in the following way: the component “hour” having the meaning “time of day, period of time” in its plural form is substituted for more expressive component “night” having the meaning “dark hours, period of time between sunset and sunrise” in its plural form too. At this point it must be stressed that the reader catches a hidden, subtle mocking of one hero over another thanks to the author’s occasional use of PU. Phraseological transformation helps to increase the expressiveness and ironic tone of the conversation in this context.

The following example taken from J. Galsworthy’s novel “In Chancery” illustrates how the author successfully applies substitution as one of the ways of occasional transformation of PU in English literature:

“...yet was he nervous, strangely distrustful of his powers to steer just the right course” (Galsworthy 2004, 215).

In this context PU “to steer the middle course” having the meaning “hold the middle line, have moderate views on something, do not occupy extreme positions” is occasionally used due to replacing and wedging components. The component “middle” having the meaning “in the middle; at an equal distance from two or more points or between the beginning and the end” is replaced by the component “right” having an expressive sense in its meaning “best in view of the circumstances; most correct and most suitable” enhancing the brightness of image. Thus, the recipient positively and approvingly perceives the image.

Let us consider the following example:

“He mused tapping his teeth with empty pipe. Then he went off on another tack. Now I remembered there was even some talk about her and the awful child” (Monsarrat 1975, 118).

PU “to be on a right tack” having the meaning “be on a certain correct path” is used by the author in this context. We observe a partial
substitution of the following components: firstly, the component “right” having the meaning “correct, satisfactory, best in view of circumstances” is replaced by the component “another” having the meaning “a different one”; moreover, the verb “to be” having a neutral emoseme in its meaning “go, come” is replaced by two components of the phrasal verb “go off” having a negative emoseme in its meaning “lose interest in or one’s taste for”. Due to this way of phraseological transformation the reader realizes that the hero has lost interest in the heroine of the story. There is even a rumor about her and her terrible child.

These examples demonstrate that substitution of a lexical component or components as one of the ways of transforming phraseological units is effectively used by word masters of both English and Russian languages. This method of transformation is used to enhance an image or to increase an effect on a reader.

III. Inversion or rearrangement of components. This way of phraseological transformation breaks the usual order of the components of PU. It is intended to increase brightness, emotionality and expressiveness of the situation or speech in the context. This is confirmed by the following passage in Russian:

Ну, а Муравьев всему цену узнал – разным и всяким басенкам и легендам. На собственной шкуре познал, как все на самом деле (Adamovich 1988, 64).

This example demonstrates that the phraseological unit “знать цену чему, кому” having the meaning “to know and evaluate someone's capabilities, advantages; to understand the role, meaning of something” has an inverted order of the components within the structure of PU, namely, the last component “всему” becomes the first one and, on the contrary, the first component “знать” becomes the last one “узнал” in the author's contextual usage.

Here we present another illustration of inversion as one of the ways of transforming PUs in Russian poetry:

“А теперь буржуазия!  
Что делает она?  
Ни тебе сапог, ни ситец, ни гвоздь!  
Она из мухи делает слона” (Majakovskij 1978, 74).

PU “делать из мухи слона” having the meaning “exaggerate something” has an inverted word order used by the author in his poem.
Chapter Sixteen

294

The components “из”, “мухи” and “делает” change their places within the structure of the PU.

We shall now consider an example demonstrating inversion in English:

*Success shall crown my endeavours. Wherefore not?* (Shelley 1980, 51).

As a result of the author's transformation, the phraseological unit “to be crowned with success” having the meaning “to complete good fortune; be at the top of” acquires an inverted order of components in the extract above. Let us consider in more details the way of phraseological transformation. The component “success” having the meaning “succeeding; the gaining of what is aimed at” is moved from the end to the beginning of the PU; in addition, the components “to be” are omitted, and the component “crown” having the meaning “have a happy, successful finishing of smth; be or have at the top of” appears at the end of the structure of the PU. Thus the method of inversion allows the author to strengthen the emotional impact on the reader and achieve a more vivid effect of describing thoughts of the main hero of the novel.

IV. Another way of transforming PU is the way of phraseological reiteration. It is used to collide and play upon the meaning of PU and its prototype. Apart from this, reiteration is used to adapt the denotative and connotative meaning of PU to the speech situation requirement. The result of the author's occasional transformation of PU via this method is the creation of semantic duality, which contributes to the double perception of PU. The amount of transmitted information increases. The pragmatic effect of this way of phraseological transformation is that it contributes to the perception of PU as a figurative information-intensive and original linguistic construct. We find the confirmation of this phenomenon in the following passages:

- Осетрину прислали второй свежести, — сказал буфетчик.
- Голубчик, это вздор!
- Чего вздор!
- Вторая свежесть — вот что вздор! Свежесть бывает только одна — первая, она же и последняя. А если осетрина второй свежести, то это означает, что она тухлая! (Bulgakov 2004, 119).

PU “не первой свежести” has the meaning “not fresh; rotten” and stylistically is colloquial. Semantic duality of this PU is achieved via multiple repetition of the whole phraseological unit, or part of it, or single word-components. Apart from this, other ways of transforming PU simultaneously are used in the extract above. We observe a multiple
repetition of the PU “не первой свежести”; reduction of the component “не” implying the opposite meaning of the following word “первой”; a partial substitution of the components, namely, the component “первой” having the meaning “first” is substituted for the component “второй” having the meaning “second”; we also observe the play (pun) on such words as: “first”, “second”, “last”, “rotten”. The information based on the meaning of this transformed PU is impressive. It wakes up reader’s imagination. The result of such a capacious linguistic construct is the creation of an ironical atmosphere of the situation.

We wish to show another example from Russian literature:

“- Женька ты, Женька! Цены ты себе не знаешь.
- Цена мне четыре сороки и пятистогривовая карточка!
- Будь здоров, Женя! Прости, коль неладное брякнул” (Астафьев 1980, 78).

A play on the components of a phraseological unit “знать себе цену” having the meaning “to assess one’s possibilities correctly” is observed in the context. This example is also of some interest for us because repetition, reduction and inversion simultaneously are used by the author as means of transforming PU.

There is another case of particular interest for us. We find phraseological reiteration in L.N. Tolstoy’s work:

“Матушка не было; ... ничего в доме и в нашем образе жизни не изменилось; наш обыкновенный образ жизни казался мне оскорблением ее памяти” (Толстой 2001, 59).

The way of reiteration or double actualization was used by the author for PU “образ жизни” having the meaning “way of living, mode of life”. Reading the context, the recipient sadly realizes that the hero of the story has not changed anything in his life even after his mother’s death. Phraseological reiteration obsessively makes the reader think the same way as the hero does, that the way he continues to live is an insult to the memory of his mother.

“Repetition serves to express repeated or prolonged action” (Кайумова 2010, 82).

It has been observed that occasional use of PU leads to increased emotionality and expressiveness. PU acquires enhancing features of its phraseological significance.
V. We have found a rare and complex case of transforming PU with the help of stylistic device called extended metaphor.

“As to the English language, extended phraseological metaphor is a centuries old technique; as a figure of thought it has existed throughout the course of the history of the English language. OE had many ways to construct meaning imaginatively and stylistic use of PUs was one of them” (Naciscione 2010, 83).

Creative use is the process of expanding the metaphorical image of PU within the context. It can be a single sentence or a long passage of text.

“The appearance of additional images inextricably connected with PU is a characteristic of this stylistic device” (Aldaibani 2003, 51).

A. Nachischione states that images and sub-images are based on the main image in the context:

“Extended phraseological metaphor consists in successive use of sub-images. It is a linear development. A sequence of sub-images emerges, strung out in a line, offering a sustained mental picture of the image of the base form” (Naciscione 2010, 81).

An example below should make this clear:

… а мы все погружаемся в землю. Я вдруг выскочил наверх: показалось, что земля уходит, скользко поползла под босыми пятками (Adamovich 1988, 51).

What is the behavior of PU “земля уходит из-под ног” in the extract above? Firstly, it is used in its denotative meaning “lose one’s balance; fall over; fail to win; be defeated” in this context. Close observation shows that the reduction of such components as “из”, “под” having the meaning of preposition “from under; from beneath (lit)” and the noun “ног” having the meaning “one of the parts of a person’s body used for walking” occurs. There is an expansion of the metaphorical image within the frame of two sentences. It means that the stylistic device of extended metaphor is used by the author. As a result, the reader catches the image of a man falling into a ditch. Then the reader, indeed, imagines the ground leaving under the feet of the hero. At last, the reader imagines the ground crawling from under the main hero’s bare heels. The reader can clearly realize the main hero’s experiences, his emotional excitement. Thus, PU “земля уходит из-под ног” is stylistically expressive.
We will demonstrate another vivid example of such occasional phraseological transformation as extended metaphor in Russian literature:

- Замуж ей надобь, Матрену. Опоздал бы ты ее за меня.
- Вишь ты! – удивился князь. А не жирно ли будет, мужик? Да в коня ли корм?..
- Зачем не в коня, - возразил Куземка. Коли я льком шит, то и Матрена не золотом стегана. Одного мы с ней горба, два сапога пара. Да и сладились мы с ней (Davidov 2000, 114).

Let us now examine in detail the use of the metaphoric expression “не в коня корм” having the meaning “does not benefit anyone” with a connotative shade of irony in this context. We find the play on such components as “не”, “в”, “коня”, “корм” of this phraseological unit, particularly, the component “не” having the meaning “implying the opposite of the following word” is omitted to give the opposite connotative meaning to the image of Kuzemka. Kuzemka is an ordinary person who is not suitable for the lord’s (knyaz’s) daughter as a groom. So, we observe the use of such stylistic device of phraseological transformation as reduction. Grammatically interrogative form of the expression is used. In the next sentence, when Kuzemka answers the lord (knyaz), the author again uses such stylistic device of occasional transformation as reduction. Another word “корм” having the meaning “that which can be eaten by people or animals” is omitted; besides, the words “не”, “в”, “коня” are repeated. So, we observe the use of such stylistic device of author’s occasional transformation as phraseological reiteration.

Further, a figurative expression “не льком шит” is used in its meaning “about anyone, something, not the simplest and cheapest” in the next sentence. It is used with a reduced component “не” having the meaning “implying the opposite of the following word”. The following word is “лько”. It has the meaning “lime bast” and again gives the opposite connotative meaning to the image of Kuzemka. In addition, we observe extension of the phraseological metaphor “не льком шит” through the appearance of another opposite image “шить золотом” having the meaning “about somebody or something, having great dignity; about a significant one”. On the contrary, this phraseological unit is used with added component “не” – “implying the opposite of the following word”. The following word is “золото”. Its meaning is “brilliant or precious things or qualities” and is used figuratively. The purpose of transforming this phraseological unit by the author is the same – to diminish Matrena’s dignity when Kuzemka tries to prove to her father that they are the same.
Furthermore, we find another metaphoric expression “два сапога пара” having the meaning “they deserve each other; they make a pair” in the extract above. We realize that it continues to develop the image of two young people, who belong to different social classes. But Kuzemka is trying to prove to her father that he and Matrena are right for each other. We may observe a successive use of four sub-images in this context. It is a sequence of four sub-images, strung out in a line. In this case extended phraseological metaphor offers a sustained mental picture of the image of the base form. Again we realize that Kuzemka and Matrena love each other but they do not suit one another.

“Metaphorical development proceeds like a chain reaction mediated by the previous sub-image, with each instantial metaphorical item sparking off the subsequent one” (Naciscione 2010, 82).

It is hard to find such complicated phraseological transformations. It can be assumed that this is the reason why we have not recognized such transformed PUs in the works by English authors we studied.

“We have long felt that what has been missing so far are protocols for identifying metaphor” (Nacey 2020, 2).

3. Conclusions

It is interesting and important to note that our research enabled us to obtain concrete results. Researchers identify from three to eleven different devices of occasional phraseological transformations. We have revealed five of these methods: wedging, substitution, inversion, phraseological reiteration and extended metaphor. We investigated 300 PUs in English classical works and 300 PUs in Russian classical works. The results indicate that phraseological transformations to a different extent are attractive linguistic tools for authors of both languages. These results are of considerable interest. The following diagrams show these results:
Pragmatical Aspect of Discoursal Use of Phraseological Transformations in Classical works of English and Russian Authors

300 Transformed PUs in English Classical Literature
- Wedging: 38%
- Substitution: 20%
- Inversion: 22%
- Reiteration: 20%
- Extended metaphor: 0%

300 Transformed PUs in Russian Classical Literature
- Wedging: 32%
- Inversion: 22%
- Reiteration: 21%
- Extended metaphors: 8%
- Substitution: 17%
The general conclusion to be drawn from our investigation is that the language of classical works of both English and Russian literature is a complex unity comprising a vast number of elements. The scope of original phraseological transformations is one of these elements. Transformed PUs are numerous in number. The properties of our material prove that transformed phraseological units render certain information, enhance evaluative, emotional and expressive facets of denotative meaning of PUs. Finally they play vital role in the process of perception of classical works of both English and Russian literature. The study proves the importance of revealing different methods of occasional transformations in context within two remote cognates.

“The phraseological fund of any nation is unique and valuable for in-depth studies” (Soboleva et al 2015, 284).

“The elements of language … indicate the ‘live’ processes of culture formation” (Zamaletdinov and Faizullina 2015, 60).

“…almost everything in language reveals a certain degree of cultural specific” (Piirainen 2008, 114).

References

https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=873&p=1

https://sheba.spb.ru/lit/d20/r299.htm


https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=22518&p=1


https://www.gutenberg.org/files/203/203-h/203-h.htm

https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=3034&p=1


Pragmatical Aspect of Discoursal Use of Phraseological Transformations in Classical works of English and Russian Authors


Collins online English Dictionary. https://www.collinsdictionary.com


Hemingway, Ernest. 1976. Canary for One. https://librebook.me/a_canary_for_one/vol1/1


Chapter Sixteen


Ozhegov, S. 2003. Tolkovij slovar russkogo jazika. Izd. 4, p. 939. Moscow: OOO ITI Tehnologii. https://gufo.me/dict/ozhegov/%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%B0%D1%82%D1%8C


Shelley, Mary. 1980. Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus. https://librebook.me/frankenstein_or_the_modern_prometheus/vol1/1


EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF DISCOURSAL USE OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS
CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

OCCASIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS
OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS DESIGNATING
AGE IN ENGLISH, AND WAYS OF THEIR
TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN:
EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

ELENA ARSENTEVA¹,
YETZANETH DEL VALLE DIAZ²,
ISKANDER YARMAKEEV³

1. Introduction

Contextual use study of phraseological units has more than a half century history in the works of American and European researchers, and a significant progress has been made over this period of time. A.V. Kunin determined the concepts of “core use” and “occasional (or instantial) use” of phraseological units, which laid the foundations for the study of occasional changes in phraseological units and identified three types of phraseological context (Kunin 1964; 1969; 1970). Phraseologists identified the main types of occasional transformations (modifications) of phraseological units characterized by consistency, revealed the mechanisms of their creation as well as the stylistic effect of each type of transformation, designated the features of the internal and external plan of phraseological units that actively influence their creative capabilities. Most scholars distinguish two main types of occasional transformations of phraseological units in context – semantic and structural-semantic ones, the number of

¹ Kazan Federal University, Russia, elenaarsentiewa@mail.ru
² Kazan Federal University, Russia, yetzaneth79@gmail.com
³ Kazan Federal University, Russia, Iskander.Yarmakeev@kpfu.ru
types of these transformations of phraseological units subjected to analysis varies in dissertations and articles from four to thirteen (Fraser 1970; Naciscione 2010; Fernando 1996; Omazić 2008; Arsenteva 2014; Shadrin 1972; Bairamova 1983; Boychenko 1997; Ayupova 2001; Ryzhkina 2003; Sten 2007; Davletbaeva 2006; Davletbaeva 2012; Arsenteva 2009; Kayumova 2010; Basenko 2011; Tretyakova 2007; Tretyakova 2011; Arsentyeva 2012; Bozhko 2015; Soboleva 2015, Zinatullina 2013). A literature review of the matter is presented in numerous dissertation studies, therefore we consider it only necessary to point out that the study of the core and occasional use of phraseological units was carried out both on the material of works of fiction and the press, advertising materials, the so-called creative texts as well as extensive corpora of languages available at the present time to researchers. Phraseological data of one, two or more languages were analyzed.

The end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century were marked by the beginning of the experimental study of phraseological unit potential in terms of the implementation of possible transformations. For the first time, the American researcher R.G. Gibbs and his colleagues at the University of California in Santa Cruz turned to the experimental study of idioms in discourse in the late eighties of the twentieth century (Gibbs 1989; Gibbs 1990; Gibbs 1989). They convincingly proved the fact that for native speakers of the English language, metaphors that underlie figurative rethinking of English idioms are alive and are part of their cognitive thinking. Experimental research by American scientists was continued by Russian phraseologists, mainly representatives of Kazan linguistic school. It should be noted that Russian scientists conducted linguistic experiments with both native and non-native speakers. The results of such experiments made it possible to identify the most characteristic types of occasional transformations of phraseological units as well as to determine the key component/components of phraseological units (Abdullina 2007; Arsenteva 2013; Arsenteva 2016; Galyavieva 2018), to substantiate the possibilities of correct use of the phraseological unit transformation mechanism by both native and non-native speakers of different languages, to identify the importance of linguistic and extralinguistic factors in the implementation of various types of contextual transformations of phraseological units by native and non-native language speakers (Zinatullina 2013; Byiyk 2016; Guryanov 2016; Matveeva 2017; Galyavieva 2018).

The results of the linguistic experiment carried out by the scientists of Kazan linguistic school allow, in particular, to determine the necessary requirements for the successful application of different types of occasional
use of phraseological units by both native and non-native speakers. These include:

“– High (not lower than Higher Intermediate, preferably Advanced) level of language proficiency;
– understanding and mastering of the mechanism for creating various types of transformations of phraseological units;
– developed figurative and logical thinking;
– creative attitude to language;
– high level of intellectual development, including knowledge of the world historical heritage;
– historically developed attitude of native speakers to the language as an inexhaustible source of its creative use;
– the century-old tradition of language game” (Matveeva 2017, 76).

In the course of the experimental study carried out by Kazan scientists, it was also possible to prove that connotational components of meaning, the type of imagery and the structure of phraseological units do not affect their transformational potential, at the same time, phraseological units with a transparent inner form undergo various transformations quite easily, in contrast to phraseological units with an opaque internal form. Also, the significant role of both unintelligible meaning of the prototype of phraseological units and the features of their metaphorical transference of meaning was proved, the dependence of phraseological unit transformational potential on the number of their components was determined, and the stability of general perception and understanding of these units was proved in the implementation of various kinds of transformations by native and non-native speakers regardless of the type of transformations used.

In the dissertation researches, the following types of transformations of phraseological units of the English, Russian, German and Turkish languages were analyzed: addition of a component/components including insertion, phraseological pun, substitution of a lexical component/components, cleft use, phraseological reiteration, ellipsis and phraseological allusion, phraseological saturation of context, extended metaphor. The results of the experiments prove that the greatest difficulty among informants is caused by the use of phraseological pun, extended metaphor, and the complex type of phraseological saturation of context, which requires the use of two or more types of phraseological unit transformations. The use of phraseological pun and extended metaphor requires developed logical and imaginative thinking; when applying to extended metaphor, it is necessary to simultaneously use a number of complex cognitive processes for the development of phraseological unit images and sub-images, and the
deployment of a metaphorical chain. That is why some errors were observed in the creation of these types of transformation, and it was revealed that both native speakers and non-native speakers in about 90% of examples turned to a simpler type of extended metaphor – a linear metaphor. Also, a certain pattern was revealed in the creation of a phraseological context: native speakers presented more detailed examples in order to enhance the stylistic impact of the transformations used.

2. Main Part

2.1. Description of the experiment

The purpose of our linguistic experiment was to identify the possibility of using the correct transformation mechanism of English phraseological units denoting a person's age, and their adequate translation into Russian by non-native English speakers. For the first time, the reference to translation is carried out within the framework of linguistic experiment; the definition of the stylistic impact of two types of occasional use of phraseological units was also subject to consideration. Methods for translating transformed phraseological units have already been considered by scientists on the material of works of fiction by English-speaking authors (Ayupova 2001; Medvedev 2007; Kayumova 2010). However, in our study, we discuss the possibilities of adequate translation of two types of transformation of phraseological units not by venerable translators, but by student informants.

So, we carried out a complex experiment, which, in turn, combines different types of experiments: natural, open, transformative and mental. The informants were third-year students of Kazan Federal University – future specialists in the field of English. The design of the experiment consisted of a series of steps: identifying the goal and hypothesis of the experiment, creating the necessary conditions for obtaining reliable results, accurately setting the problem, and correctly quantifying the results obtained. First of all, we determined the purpose of the experiment: to identify the main factors underlying the correct creation of occasional transformations of phraseological units of the English language and their adequate translation into Russian by non-native speakers of English. Sufficiently high knowledge of English by non-native speakers, the informants' understanding of the mechanism for creating two most difficult types of occasional transformations of phraseological units and methods of their adequate transmission into Russian, and well-developed logical and imaginative thinking were identified as three main factors for
the successful conduct of the experiment – this was the hypothesis of the experiment.

The experiment was carried out at the end of the sixth semester of study after students specializing in linguistics took a course in the specialization “Foundations of English phraseology”. One of the sections of this course is devoted to the study of core and occasional (instanial) use of phraseological units in context, thus, students were already familiar with the mechanisms of such occasional transformations and themselves tested them in the classroom, using a number of examples from the literary works of English and American writers.

Here is a list of twelve English phraseological units denoting a person’s age, used for the experiment:

1. bear (carry) one’s age well—look good for your age, look younger than your age;
2. fretting cares make gray hairs—it is not work that ages, but care;
3. the Darby and Joan club—a club for seniors;
4. rob the cradle Amer. colloquial joke.—marry someone much younger than you, flirt with someone much younger than you;
5. an old dog barks not in vain—an experienced man will not speak to no purpose;
6. between grass and hay Amer.—in adolescence;
7. <as> old as the hills—very old, ancient;
8. does your mother know you’re out? colloquial iron.—your milk has not dried on your lips, you still have to walk in short pants;
9. mutton dressed <up> as lamb informal.—a woman who tries to make herself look younger by wearing clothes designed for young people;
10. show one’s years—bend under the weight of years, get old;
11. a wise man has wise children Amer.—the apple falls not far from the apple tree, a child inherits the traits of his/her parents;
12. the surest sign of age is loneliness Amer.—loneliness is a sure sign of old age.

The most difficult types of occasional transformations used in our experiment are described in this chapter: extended metaphor, phraseological saturation of context.

Let's turn to the description of the experimental results.
2.2. Extended metaphor

Extended metaphor as a type of occasional use of phraseological units is referred to difficult stylistic perception by researchers, and is considered as one of the varieties of the occasional configuration of the second degree (Naciscione 2001; Naciscione 2010; Arsenteva 2009; Arsenteva 2013; Zinatullina 2013; Soboleva 2015; Matveeva 2017 and others). A. Naciscione also calls this technique an extended phraseological metaphor (Naciscione 2010). This term means the use of additional images “grouped around the basic metaphor of a phraseological unit” (Arsenteva 2009, 25).

A. Naciscione points out, not without reason, that “Extended metaphor is characterized by a spread of the phraseological image; thus it is not a single metaphor but a string of sub-images creating associative metaphors tied together” (Naciscione 2010, 80).

These sub-images are based on associative metaphors. The merit of A. Naciscione can also be viewed in the allocation of several types of extended phraseological metaphors, depending on the correlation of one or more created sub-images with one or several notional base components. The so-called “linear” metaphor is quite common, when a number of sub-images “sequentially” and “linearly” roll-out in the context (Naciscione 2010). As noted by Y.O. Matveeva, it is the creation of a linear metaphor that is most often suggested by informants in the course of linguistic experiment (Matveeva 2017).

Extended phraseological metaphor is a powerful stylistic tool, when implemented a significant stylistic effect is achieved. At the same time, its creation requires a lot from informants: well-developed figurative and logical thinking; the ability to creatively solve the assigned tasks, also creating a sub-image/sub-images; mental reproduction of the prototype image and simultaneous play with the direct and figurative meaning of phraseological units.

As the results of our experiment showed, the creation of extended metaphor caused difficulties for 9% of the informants.

We observe the expansion with the help of the sub-image/sub-images of only one PU component (“years” and “mutton”) in the following two examples:
When I saw him last summer he had already shown his years. Years of hard work and constant stress hanging on his hump.

Когда я увидел его прошлым летом, он уже сознусь под тяжестью лет. Многих лет тяжелого труда и постоянного стресса на его горбу.

To hell, with this jacket on she looks like mutton dressed as lamb, you know such tasteless and tough mutton.

К черту, в этом пиджаке она выглядит как молодящаяся старушка, знаешь, такая никому не нужная и высокохшая старушка.

When translating the first example, the informant quite successfully conveyed the expression “hanging on his hump” with the help of the image of a hump that personifies the weight of a burden. In the second example, the image of mutton as the meat of a not young animal is conveyed in the English language by using colorful adjectives “tasteless” and “tough”. When translated into Russian, the meaning of the English phraseological unit based on colorful metaphor is translated literally – “an old woman who tries to look young”, and to recreate the image of such an old woman, the adjectives “useless” (because not tasty) – “никому не нужная” and “dried up” – “высохшая” (by analogy with tough meat) are used.

Also, only one component “loneliness” – “одиночество” is expanded with the help of a sub-image in the following example, the translation fully transfers the content of the English context:

I noticed that my house soon became empty, and silence settled in it. I always knew that the surest sign of age is loneliness, and this loneliness absorbed me.

Я заметил, что мой дом скоро опустел, и тишина поселилась в нем. Я всегда знал, что верный признак старости – одиночество, и это одиночество поглотило меня.

In fact, all the components of the phrase “between grass and hay” are used to create sub-images when expanding the metaphor in the following example. In order to get a proper translation in Russian, the informant replaced the meaning “in adolescence” – “в юношеском возрасте” with the indicators “young and green, that is inexperienced” – “молодой и зеленый, т.е. неопытный”, which made it possible to develop the image
of green and fresh grass turning into dry hay, colorfully transferring the aging process of a person:

Once I was also between grass and hay. But years fly so quickly that green grass turned yellow, dried and became hay.

Когда то я тоже был молодой и зеленый. Но время летит так быстро, что зеленая трава превратилась в жесткую, высохла и стала соломой.

We observe a similar expansion of the image of the whole phraseological unit in the following example:

“Hey you! What are you doing in this dangerous place? Does your mother know you’re out?”

“Oh, buddy, are you serious? What does my mother have to do with it? Why are you talking about it?”

–Эй, ты, что ты делаешь в этом опасном месте? У тебя еще молоко на губах не обсохло!

–Дружище, ты серьезно? Какое молоко? О чем ты вообще говоришь?

In this example, we can talk about a creative and masterful attitude of the informant not only to the creation of extended metaphor in English, but also to its excellent translation into Russian based on English-Russian phraseological analogue. If in the English language the informant plays with the direct and transferred meaning of the phraseological unit “does your mother know you’re out?” (literally: does your mother know you are not at home?), and the answer with the sub-image pattern is based on the literal meaning of the phrase, in the Russian language the image of the phraseological unit “у тебя еще молоко на губах не обсохло” (literally: milk on your lips has not dried up”) with the same transferred meaning allows us to find out with a share of irony what kind of milk we are talking about.

In the following example of a linear metaphor, both interlocutors masterfully play with the direct and figurative meaning of the phraseological unit “an old dog barks not in vain”. The reader understands perfectly well that they are talking about a person, and the expressions that he “barks very loudly” – “лает очень громко”, and “the dog should be calmed” – “собаку следует успокоить” are perceived as a statement of the fact that James is making too much noise, not desirable for the interlocutors, therefore it is necessary that he stopped feeling threatened:
“An old dog barks not in vain. And James is an old dog, that’s for sure. He might feel that something’s wrong.”

“And if he barks, he does it very loudly. The dog should be calmed if we want our business to be successful.”

—Старый пес зря не лает. А Джеймс и есть старый пес, это уж точно. Должно быть, он чувствует, что что-то не так.
—А если он лает, он лает очень громко. Собаку следует успокоить, если мы хотим, чтобы наше дело было успешным.

Replacing the component “lamb” with the meaning “meat of a lamb” – “ягнятина” with “a lamb” (a young animal) – “ягненок” made it possible to expand this image, ironically recreating the appearance of a “youth-obsessed old woman”. The similarity between a lamb and an elderly lady is also stressed with the help of describing “white curly hair”, “fur”, and “hooves”:

At a party she looked like mutton dressed as a lamb: white curly hair, a white fur coat, a short dress and high heels which looked like hooves.

На вечеринке она выглядела как молодящаяся старушка: белые курчавые волосы, белая меховая шубка, короткое платье и высокие каблуки, похожие на копытца.

“A lamb” – “ягненок” can also be perceived as “a young lamb” – “молодая овечка”, for the safekeeping of which a shepherd is always needed to protect it from enemies. In the phraseological unit “mutton dressed up as a lamb” the component “mutton” – “баранина” was also replaced by the word combination “an old lady”, in Russian translated as “a woman of advanced age” – “женщина преклонного возраста”, while the figurative meaning of the whole phraseological unit “youth-obsessed old woman” – “молодящаяся старушка” remains unchanged in the context:

There was an old lady dressed up as a lamb and a shepherd going alone.

Здесь была женщина преклонного возраста, одетая как молодая овечка, в сопровождении своего пастуха.

In the last example we cite, the informant managed to expand successfully the image of the “cradle” – “колыбель” in the English context, but the extended metaphor could not be transferred into Russian, the informant changed the “cradle” – “колыбель” into “child” – “дитя”
for the translation to be understandable to Russian-speaking readers. That’s why in Russian the image of “дитя” (child) is expended with the help of two sub-images. On the whole, the English phraseological unit was transferred into Russian with the help of descriptive translation:

*He robbed the cradle, and it was a great surprise for her parents. They couldn’t believe that the cradle which was tenderly taken care by them no longer entirely belonged to them.*

Он женился на молоденькой девушке, и это оказалось большим сюрпризом для ее родителей. Они не могли поверить, что их дитя, за которым они так заботливо ухаживали, вскоре им больше не принадлежит.

### 2.3. Phraseological saturation of context

Phraseological saturation of context was attributed by A.V. Kunin to the occasional configuration of the second degree (Kunin 2005). This type of occasional (instantial) use of phraseological units was considered in sufficient details by A. Naciscione and the scientists of Kazan linguistic school (Naciscione 2001; Naciscione 2010; Contextual use of phraseological units 2009; Zainullina 2013; Semushina 2013; Soboleva 2015; Guryanov 2016; Matveeva 2017; Galyavieva 2018). According to A. Naciscione's terminology, this technique is designated as “instantial phraseological saturation of discourse” (Naciscione 2010). All researchers of the phraseological material note its significant stylistic effect, while it is indicated that phraseological saturation of context can appear in two varieties. The first type consists in the simultaneous use of two or more phraseological units (simple type of contextual saturation), the second type is revealed in the use of several simple and/or complex stylistic transformations (that is, “convergence”, as defined by A.V. Kunin, or “concurrent use”, as defined by A. Naciscione), and the phraseological context may contain one, two or more phraseological units (Kunin 2005; Naciscione 2010).

While analyzing the examples presented by the informants, we also encountered two of these varieties, since the informants were given the task of using all possible types of phraseological saturation of context. It is noteworthy that all students did a good job with the task.

In the first scenario, in 80% of the cases, phraseological saturation of context was achieved by using two phraseological units selected for the experiment. In the two examples below, while translating into Russian, the informants also referred to the vocabulary counterparts that they were
suggested, in the second case, they replaced the lexical unit “years” – “лет” with “age” – “возраст”, in order not to repeat the same word twice. In both cases descriptive translation, as well as Russian phraseological analogue “сгибаться под тяжестью лет” in the second example are used:

“She looks like mutton dressed up as lamb.”
“Yes, she tries to bear her age well and to look younger. But sometimes she looks ridiculous.”

–Она выглядит как молодящаяся старушка.
–Да, она пытается хорошо выглядеть для своих лет и моложе. Но иногда это получается у нее действительно нелепо.

Note the contrast: Mrs. Jackson bears her age well while her husband shows his years.

Заметьте различ: миссис Джексон хорошо выглядит для своего возраста, а ее муж сгибается под тяжестью лет.

The following example also shows two phraseological units in their core forms, proposed for the experiment. While translating it into Russian, the informant resorts to the synonymous translation “in youth” – “в юности” in the first case, and to the descriptive translation “клуб для пожилых людей” – “a club for seniors”, in the second one:

They met each other when they were between grass and hay. They had adventures, dates, quarrels. They went through all these situations, and now they are sitting in the Darby and Joan club together.

Они встретили друг друга еще в юности. У них были приключения, свидания, ссоры. Они через все это прошли. И сейчас они вместе в клубе для пожилых людей.

The informants also used one phraseological unit proposed to them, and another phraseological unit, which they knew earlier. It serves as a good proof of a certain kind of knowledge of the phraseological stock of the English language by future specialists of English. In the following example, the first phraseological unit is transferred into Russian by using descriptive translation, the second one is translated with the help of its phraseological analogue “упустить свой шанс” – “miss one’s chance”:

If you rob the cradle, you won’t miss the boat.
Occasional Transformations of Phraseological Units Designating Age in English, and Ways of their Translation into Russian

Если Вы женитесь на ком-либо значительно моложе себя, Вы не упустите свой шанс.

Four phraseological units, two of which were selected for the experiment, are used in the following context:

"An old dog barks not in vain."
"Yes, that’s one advantage of being as old as the hills — you become wise and experienced, and everyone values your opinion. But, on the other hand, being on guard all the time trying to stop the youngsters from making one mistake after another is a Herculean task, isn’t it?"
"Oh yes, young people never listen to anybody, especially after leaving a secure nest."

As we see, during translation, three phraseological units were conveyed into Russian by using dictionary counterparts, including phraseological ones, and the figurative metaphor of the last English sentence is translated with the help of the Russian phraseological unit "покидать гнездо" — "to leave one’s nest". We also observe lexical translation in this example when the English phraseological unit "as old as the hills" is translated with the help of one Russian lexeme "старость" — "old age". On the whole, if we present the literal Russian translation, it will sound as follows:

"Старый пес не будет напрасно лаять.
—Да, и это преимущество твоей старости — ты становишься мудрым и опытным, и все ценят твое мнение. Но, с другой стороны, быть все время настороже, пытаясь не дать молодым совершать одну ошибку за другой, это геркулесов труд, не так ли?
—О да, молодые люди никогда никого не слушают, особенно после того, как они покинули безопасное гнездо.

As we see, during translation, three phraseological units were conveyed into Russian by using dictionary counterparts, including phraseological ones, and the figurative metaphor of the last English sentence is translated with the help of the Russian phraseological unit "покидать гнездо" — "to leave one’s nest". We also observe lexical translation in this example when the English phraseological unit "as old as the hills" is translated with the help of one Russian lexeme "старость" — "old age". On the whole, if we present the literal Russian translation, it will sound as follows:

"The old dog won’t bark in vain."
"Yes, and this is the advantage of your old age — you become wise and experienced, and everyone appreciates your opinion. But, on the other hand, to be on guard all the time, trying to prevent the young ones from making one mistake after another, this is a Herculean work, isn’t it?"
"Oh yes, young people never listen to anyone, especially after they have left the safe nest (literal translation in Russian)."

The results of the experiment show that a complex type of phraseological saturation of context can include two phraseological units, one of which appears in its instantial stylistic use. In the following example, the informant resorted to expanding the component structure of
the phraseological unit by adding an adverb to the beginning of the phraseological unit:

“*She looks like mutton dressed as lamb.*”
“No, you are wrong. *She just bears her age well.*”

– Она выглядит как молодящаяся старушка.
– Нет, ты не прав. Она просто хорошо выглядит для своего возраста.

The following two examples represent the use of one phraseological unit with two types of transformations: substitution of a component (“man” to “people” in the first example, and “mutton” and “lamb” to “a wolf” and “a lamb” in the second example) and phraseological reiteration. In rendering these transformations into Russian, both dictionary translation (phraseological counterpart “яблоко от яблони недалеко падает” – “the apple is not far from the apple tree”) and literal translation were used. Both types of transformations were adequately rendered into Russian:

“*A wise man has wise children.*”
“What about women?”
“I mean wise people have wise children.”

– У умного человека – умные дети.
– А как насчет женщин?
– Я имею в виду, что яблоко от яблони недалеко падает.

As always I look like *mutton dressed as lamb,* but at least I don’t look like a *wolf dressed as a lamb.*

Я снова выгляжу как вечно молодящаяся старушка, но, по крайней мере, я не выгляжу как волк, переодетый в ягненка.

Three English phraseological units with two insertions and one substitution of a component are presented in the following example, with both inserted components translated into Russian, in the first case as an addition to the beginning of phraseological units in accordance with the grammatical rules of the Russian language. At the same time, the added component is not transferred into Russian, probably because the option “*her mother looks so good for this age*” – “ее мать так хорошо выглядит для этого возраста” in combination with the designation of age “old age” – “старость” would sound like a dissonance. We also give here literal
Occasional Transformations of Phraseological Units Designating Age in English, and Ways of their Translation into Russian

transformation in Russian for the readers to see how masterfully the informant was able to create a vivid picture of such an elderly woman:

*The surest sign of age is loneliness* but her mother bears that age so well that she is still able to rob any cradle she wants and there’s no danger for her to stay alone.

Одиночество – верный признак старости, но ее мать так хорошо выглядит для своего возраста, что все еще способна флиртовать с любым молодым человеком, который ей нравится, и для нее нет опасности остаться в одиночестве.

*Loneliness is a sure sign of old age, but her mother looks so good for her age that she is still able to flirt with any young man she likes, and she is not in danger of being alone (literal translation in Russian).*

Three phraseological units proposed for the experiment in combination with grammatical change (transformation of a verbal phraseological unit into a substantive phrase) and the substitution of the component “the” with “this” were used by the informant in the following example:

“If we are going to this Darby and Joan club?”
“If the members of it are rich cradle robbers!”
“And as old as the hills.”

When translated into Russian, the grammatical change is also transferred not with the help of a verbal phrase, but with the help of a substantive expression to accurately transfer the transformation made. The last phraseological unit is figuratively transferred into Russian, by probably taking into account the Russian phraseological unit “старо как мир” – “old as the world”:

–Зачем мы идем в этот клуб для престарелых?
–Его члены – богатые любители молоденчих девушек.
–И старые как сам мир.

3. Conclusions

Literature review on the subject is vivid evidence that the experimental study of the transformational potential of phraseological units, begun in the nineties of the twentieth century, allowed scientists in different countries to come to important conclusions. Following American researchers who were able to convincingly prove that metaphors underlying figurative
rethinking of English idioms are “alive” for native speakers and represent a significant part of their cognitive system, scientists of Kazan linguistic school used innovatively not only native speakers, but also non-native speakers as informants. As a result of the experiments, they were able to determine the main search mechanisms for the key component/components of phraseological units of different languages, to describe the mechanism of occasional transformations of phraseological units, and to determine the possibilities of its correct use, to establish the necessary requirements for the successful use of various types of occasional transformations of phraseological units of different languages, to identify the importance of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in the implementation of occasional transformations of phraseological units both by native and non-native speakers of different-structured languages. In our experiment, for the first time, the analysis of translation ways of two most difficult types of occasional use of phraseological units denoting a person's age is carried out by using informants who are not native speakers of the English language.

Extended phraseological metaphor, which is a complex type of occasional use of phraseological units, consists in creating a sub image/sub images grouped around the image of the basic metaphor of phraseological units. The informants managed to create vivid and interesting examples of extended metaphor of different types, confirmed by phraseological context. At the same time, about 10% of them failed to obtain an adequate translation into Russian, which may indicate the impossibility of reconstructing the sub-pattern/sub-patterns when the basic metaphor does not match in the two compared languages.

Phraseological saturation of context in our experiment was represented by both existing varieties: the use of two or more phraseological units in their core, basic form, and the use of different types of occasional transformations of phraseological units, including the use of two or more phraseological units. It should be noted that the informants both turned to phraseological units proposed for the experiment and showed knowledge of other units of the phraseological stock of the English language. While translating examples into Russian, about 90% of them managed to fully transfer this type of contextual use of phraseological units, 10% of the informants rebuilt the sentence or phrase in accordance with the grammatical rules of the Russian language, showing a creative approach to the translation process.
References

Bozhko, N. 2015. “Individual’no-avtorskiye preobrazovaniya frazeologicheskikh yedinits v yazyke khudozhhestvennoy prozy (na material proizvedeniy V.Tokarevoy)”. Kand. dis., Tyumen


Occasional Transformations of Phraseological Units Designating Age in English, and Ways of their Translation into Russian


1. Introduction

American scientists R.G. Gibbs and N.P. Nayak were the first to turn to the experimental study of phraseological units in discourse in the late 1980s (Gibbs 1989). The researchers set the task of studying the syntactic environment of idioms in the context of psycholinguistics. During the experiment, it was necessary to prove the so-called “hypothesis of the decomposition of idioms”, which consisted in the postulate that the degree of “ability” of idioms with figurative meaning for syntactic transformations is largely determined by their inner semantics and component composition.

If in their first experiments, American scientists used idioms with the structure of phrases as the object of research, then, in their further experiments, conducted at the same US university they turned to the study
Experimental Study of Phraseological Units with a Name of a Person by Profession as a Component in the English and Russian Languages

of proverbs with a rethought meaning. They were able to prove convincingly the significant role of the processes of metaphorical rethinking, as well as the literal meaning of the prototype of idioms (Gibbs 1990). A result was also obtained regarding the immutability of the general perception and understanding of idioms by native speakers regardless of the transformations used, which indicates that the cognitive perception by native speakers of transferred meaning of idioms is largely due to the metaphors underlying this rethinking (Gibbs 1989).

The baton of American researchers was followed by Kazan scientists, who used the phraseological data of the English, Russian, Turkish and German languages for the experimental study of various types of occasional transformations of phraseological units.

Thus, in the Ph.D. thesis “Contextual transformations of phraseological units in the English and Russian languages” A.R. Abdullina turns to a linguistic experiment to determine the key components of a number of phraseological units in the English and Russian languages (Abdullina 2007). Taking into account the opinion of her predecessors (Petrova 2005; Arsenteva 2006), the dissertation candidate was able to convincingly confirm their position that component/components replacement and ellipsis are the most effective types of transformations for identifying key components for both native speakers and non-native speakers.

To identify the key component/components of the eight proverbs that are widespread in English, E. Arsenteva and Y. Arsentyeva used not only component/components substitution and ellipsis, but also phraseological allusion (Arsenteva 2013). The results obtained were convincing evidence of the leading role of the key components/component both in the mental perception of the image of proverbs and in the restoration of this image.

An important result of the experiment conducted with non-native speakers of English can also be considered the conclusion that their cognitive potential is quite sufficient to determine the key component/components of a foreign language proverb, provided a sufficiently high level of English proficiency and knowledge of the mechanisms of the occasional transformations used.

In her Ph.D. thesis, L.M. Zinatullina also presented the results of an experimental linguistic study of six types of occasional transformations of English and Russian adverbial phraseological units in a comparative aspect: addition of a component/components, including insertion, substitution of a component/components, cleft use, phraseological reiteration, extended metaphor, phraseological saturation of context (Zinatullina 2013). As a result of the experiment, it was revealed that the similarity of the mechanisms of creating these transformations in the English and Russian
languages allowed both native speakers and non-native speakers to cope with the task quite easily. Which once again proves the conclusion obtained by the American scientists that the metaphors underlying metaphorical rethinking of phraseological units, are “alive”.

The results of an experimental study of the contextual use of phraseological units with a colorative component in English and Turkish are also described in detail in one of the chapters of PhD thesis by Ya.A. Biyik (Biyik 2016). The following types of occasional use of phraseological units with a colorative component in the English and Turkish languages were subjected to detailed research: addition of a component/components, insertion of a component/components, cleft use, substitution of a lexical component/components, ellipsis (deletion), phraseological allusion, phraseological reiteration, phraseological pun, extended metaphor, phraseological saturation of context. The results of the experiment are of great importance for the comparative study of the occasional use of phraseological units, since significant differences were revealed in the received factual material from the speakers of the two languages. While all the types of phraseological unit transformations proposed for the experiment were not difficult for native speakers of English, not a single example of such types of transformations as cleft use, phraseological contamination and extended metaphor was created by the native speakers of the Turkish language. These differences can be explained by the presence of centuries-old traditions of the language game among English speakers. The successful use of these transformations requires a well-developed figurative and associative thinking, contributing to the ability to simultaneously perceive the literal and figurative meaning of a phraseological unit and the ability to mentally recreate the image and meaning of the phraseological unit undergoing transformation based on the key component/components.

I.O. Guryanov (Guryanov 2016) presented the results of two experiments, in which students of Kazan Federal University, who are native speakers of the Russian language and study English and German as foreign languages, took part, in the Ph.D. thesis. The purpose of the first experiment was to determine the characteristics of the perception of bookish phraseological units of the English, German and Russian languages by informants, both native and non-native speakers, as well as to identify criteria for recognizing the stylistic reference of phraseological units. The second experiment was aimed at assessing the possibility of applying the transformation mechanism for bookish phraseological units in three compared languages, both by their native speakers and non-native speakers. The following types of phraseological unit transformations were
Experimental Study of Phraseological Units with a Name of a Person by Profession as a Component in the English and Russian Languages

presented: substitution of a lexical component/components, addition of a component/components, ellipsis, phraseological pun, extended metaphor, phraseological reiteration. As a result of the second experiment conducted, for the first time, an important conclusion was made about the influence of extra-linguistic factors, namely, good knowledge of linguistic and historical realities, on the possibility of carrying out various kinds of occasional transformations of bookish phraseological units in three compared languages.

2. Main Part

2.1. Description of the experiment

Our multi-purpose experiment included different types of experiments: natural, transformative, open and mental. The subjects were third-year students of Kazan Federal University. A number of steps was established in the design of the experiment: determination of the goal and hypothesis of the experiment, provision of the conditions for obtaining reliable results, setting the correct task for the subjects, accurate definition of the results with the possibility of quantitative measurement. The purpose of the experiment was to determine the key components/component of ten phraseological units of the English language proposed for the experiment, as well as to identify the ability of non-native English speakers to use different types of transformations of phraseological units in the phraseological saturation of context. Two experimental hypotheses were identified:

1) replacement of a component/components and deletion of a component/components, or ellipsis, are the most important types of occasional transformations of phraseological units in determining their key component/components;
2) with a sufficiently high level of proficiency in foreign language and understanding of the mechanisms for creating various types of transformations, non-native speakers are able to create interesting examples of phraseological saturation of context using the phraseological units preset for them.

Our experiment was conducted at the end of the academic semester and 86% of the students spoke English at the Upper Intermediate and Advanced levels, and 14% at the Intermediate level. The experiment involved 28 students specializing in Linguistics. The course “Fundamentals of
English phraseology” was taken as a base for the experiment. One of the topics studied was the topic of occasional use of phraseological units of the English language. Therefore, the informants already had an idea of the mechanisms of various types of occasional transformations of phraseological units. These transformations were tested by informants at seminars on the material selected from the works of fiction by English and American writers. Factors of a sufficiently high level of proficiency in English and knowledge of the mechanisms of transformation of phraseological units were used to provide conditions for obtaining reliable results of our linguistic experiment. The informants were given the task to create examples of component/components substitution of phraseological units and ellipsis of ten English phraseological units, their task was to create a coherent story using phraseological saturation of context. It took the informants 2 - 2.5 hours to present examples. This time period was agreed with the informants. A total of 625 responses was received.

2.2. Component/components substitution and deletion

Researchers in phraseology rightly point out that lexical component/components substitution is one of the most frequently used types of occasional transformations of phraseological units. This type of transformation of phraseological units did not cause difficulties for the subjects. Let us turn to the obtained examples.

In the phraseological unit “adversity is a good schoolmaster” the first component “adversity” was replaced by lexemes of the pejorative assessment “failures”, “misfortune”, “misery”, “difficulty”. All these lexical units are either synonyms of the first component of phraseological units, or belong to the same lexical semantic group:

*Failures are a good schoolmaster.*

*My honey, you should remember that misfortune is a good schoolmaster.*

*We all know that misery is a great schoolmaster.*

*Hey, dear, take it easy because any difficulty is a good schoolmaster.*

The second typical substitution was one of the adjective “good” by lexemes of similar semantics denoting very good quality as, for example, “perfect”, “incredible”, “excellent”, “best”:

*Adversity is a perfect schoolmaster.*
Adversity is an incredible schoolmaster.

Adversity is an excellent schoolmaster.

Adversity is the best schoolmaster.

Thirdly, much less often the last noun in the English proverb was replaced by its synonym “teacher”, or by the lexeme “experience”:

Adversity is a good teacher.

Adversity is a good experience.

The last substitution option was the replacement of the last two components “good schoolmaster” with “great teacher”, “the best teacher”, “one of our greatest teachers”:

When we face some problems, we should always remember that adversity is a great teacher.

Adversity is the best teacher.

Adversity is one of our greatest teachers.

Adversity is a great experience.

Examples of using ellipsis were quite the same type, informants either reduced the component “good” (in the vast majority of cases), or the first component:

Adversity is a schoolmaster.

Now you know that a good schoolmaster is...

Thus, we can assume that, firstly, the adjective “good” is not the key component. Secondly, in this case, we are most likely dealing with the phraseological unit built according to a certain semantic model “something bad (in a person)”s life) is good because it teaches him life”, the components of which can be replaced either by synonyms or by lexemes of the same lexical semantic group.

Let us consider the following phraseological unit - “<as> fat as an alderman”. The main semantics of this phraseological unit is contained in the adjective “fat”, the comparative construction “as fat as” enhances this feature and gives an excellent degree of comparison “very fat”. It is quite
clear that the object being compared should be an animate or inanimate object, which is the personification of thickness, obesity, which the informants understood perfectly and gave interesting examples of substitution of the word “alderman” by “pig”, “swine”, “hippopotamus”, “cow”, “beached whale”, and even the fairytale hero Carlson:

*He is as fat as a pig.*

*Andrew is as fat as a hippopotamus.*

*Look at this girl! She is as fat as a cow.*

*Nobody wants to become as fat as a beached whale.*

*Don’t you think that his girl-friend is as fat as a swine.*

*Mark is as fat as Carlson.*

Thus, component/components substitution as a type of occasional transformation of this phraseological unit allows us to consider that the key components of the given unit is “fat as”. However, the examples of component/components deletion presented by the informants lead us to the opposite result. In all the examples given, the “fat” component has been reduced:

*If you eat so much, you’ll look as an alderman.*

*He was a nasty person with the figure of an alderman.*

*His wife says that he is gaining weight and will soon become as an alderman.*

At the same time, the informants needed to create special mini-contexts that help to recreate in memory the main image of the phraseological unit and its meaning “if you eat so much, you will look like an alderman”, “he was a disgusting person with the figure of an alderman”, “…If he gains weight, he will soon become like an alderman”, because otherwise the allusion effect would not have worked. It is this position that allows us to consider that the meaning of the phraseological units “very thick” is conveyed by two key components “fat as”.

Interesting results were obtained with the phraseological unit “every man is the architect of his own fortune”. In most cases, the last component “fortune” was replaced by synonymous units “happiness”, “luck” to
lexemes denoting something very good (and bringing happiness) such as “success”, “wealth”, as well as philosophically generalizing “fate”, “destiny”, “life journey”:

*Every man is the architect of his own* happiness.

*Every man is the architect of his own* life journey.

*Every man is the architect of his own* fate.

*Every man is the architect of his own* luck.

The second most frequent substitution was the replacement of the generalized concept of “man” by a similar “person”, or by a more specific “student”, “wife” with the necessary replacement of the possessive pronouns:

*Every person is the architect of his own* wealth.

*In our university life every student is the architect of his or her own* success.

*In marriage every wife is the architect of her own fortune.*

Replacement of the pronoun “every” with its synonym “each” and the noun “architect” with “creator”, as well as replacement of two components at once, were much less common:

*Whatever is going on in your life, remember that each man is an architect of his own destiny.*

*Every man is the creator of his own fortune.*

Examples of component/components deletion indicate that, firstly, “his” and “own” are “extra” components provided that the structure of the proverb is simply reproduced, and secondly, when it changes, the key components should be considered “be the architect of one’s own fortune”:

*Every man is the architect of his fortune.*

*Every man is the architect of fortune.*

*Being the architect of his own fortune he left the country during the war.*

*Don’t be silly, be the architect of your own fortune.*
Why do you give up without even trying? You should be the architect of your own fortune.

Thus, it can be stated that in this case we are again dealing with the phraseological unit, built according to a certain semantic model “each person (or a more specific representative of the human race) is the creator of what lies ahead.” It should be noted that substitution in many cases is reduced to synonymous.

The substantive phraseological unit “the butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker” is also of considerable interest. In a number of examples, only the first component in the complex word “candle-stick maker” formed with the help of composition, was subject to replacement, and the informants tried to preserve the general rhythm of the construction of the entire set phrase:

They were the butcher, the baker, the image-maker.

They were the butcher, the baker, the cappuccino maker.

At the same time, realizing perfectly well that the image of a wide variety of people, a motley audience can be created using the names of other persons by profession, the informants were able to construct vivid and figurative examples. Both one or two components were to be replaced with the constant presence of one component of this phraseological unit:

For our ceremony we needed the florist, the baker, the candle-stick maker.

The cook, the baker, the candle-stick maker were present at the meeting.

A lot of people were present at the party, you could find the grocer, the baker, the candle-stick maker.

Don’t you think that you are going to invite the butcher, the painter, the candle-stick maker to your birthday?

They were the photographer, the opera singer, the candle-stick maker.

When using ellipsis, one out of three components of the phraseological unit was missed, and the informants successfully used three dots, showing the presence of not only people of these professions:

A lot of people were there: the butcher, the baker...
Experimental Study of Phraseological Units with a Name of a Person
by Profession as a Component in the English and Russian Languages

The audience was promiscuous, you could find even the butcher, the baker...

You can find there a lot of different people: the butcher and candle-stick maker.

Look around! The butcher, the baker... All of them are already here.

Thus, the analysis has demonstrated that none of the three significant components can be considered as the key one. In this case, we can talk about the image of the phraseological unit, created by a “set” of persons of various professions, on the basis of which a rethought meaning “people of different professions; all kinds of people, a motley audience” is created. Semantic modeling allows one to fill in the component composition of this occasionally transformed phraseological unit with the names of people of various professions, while maintaining one of the components of a phraseological unit in its usual form. It is this component that will allow, with the help of allusion, to recreate in the human mind a complete image which underlies the phraseological unit and is stored in long-term memory.

The next proverbial phraseological unit “no man is a hero to his valet” caused difficulties for the informants in terms of creating examples of deletion (ellipsis). At the same time, interesting examples of component/components replacement were obtained. In most cases, the last component “valet” was subject to replacement, and in all cases, this lexical unit denoted a dependent person, a service personnel:

No man is a hero to his servant.
No man is a hero to his housekeeper.
No man is a hero to his footman.

No man is a hero to his vassal.

The examples of replacing the component “hero” were presented much less frequently, while the general semantic model “no one is the one who causes the worship/admiration of his subordinate” with the structure “no + n + is + n + to + his + n” was preserved:

No man is an idol to his valet.

No man is Buddha to his valet.

A single example is the substitution of several components, and the main one in this case is the substitution of the last component.
Substitutions of the components “hero” with “heroine” and “his” with “her” are dictated by the grammatical rules of the English language, taking into account the physiological gender of the subject of the sentence:

*No woman is a heroine to her maid.*

Thus, it can be assumed that in this case, two key components can be distinguished: “no” and “is”. However, for the correct understanding and recreation of the original image and meaning of this phraseological unit, a prerequisite is compliance with the specified syntactic structure and semantic model of this proverb.

Only one kind of occasional transformation, namely, component substitution, was possible in the case of the substantive phraseological unit “a nation of shopkeepers” (nickname of the British). It was found out that two variants of substitution are possible in this phraseological unit. In the first case, the meaning of the phraseological unit denoting the English is preserved, and the substitution component nominates some of their characteristic features, well known in the world. Thus, the well-known ceremony of the British to drink tea at 5 o’clock is the basis for creating images of “the nation of five o’clock ceremony” and “the nation of five o’clock tea”:

*Last Monday we had a meeting with the nation of five o’clock ceremony.*

*Are you speaking now about the nation of five o’clock tea?*

In the second case, some other nation is designated with the help of a figurative expression, which indicates the possibility of modeling this phraseological unit and the development of meaning. Thus, the Portuguese are called the “nation of great sailors” due to the great geographical discoveries of Portuguese sailors. The well-known name of the French as “frog eaters” is the basis for the naming of the entire nation. The Swiss love for cheese is noted in the occasional transformation “the nation of cheese eaters”, and sheep breeding as the main source of income in Australia in past centuries defines the name of the inhabitants of Australia as “the nation of sheep breeders”:

*They consider themselves to be the nation of great sailors!*

*My new friend belongs to the nation of frog eaters.*

*I am very fond of travelling and next time I am going to visit the nation of cheese eaters.*
Today we are going to speak about the nation of sheep breeders.

In all the examples cited, the informants demonstrated good knowledge of world history and the typical way of life of citizens of foreign countries. A separate example is the name of the Pakistanis as “the nation of beauty and great grief”:

Why do you think the Pakistanis are called the nation of beauty and great grief?

Since this association is not generally recognized, the informant used in the context the name of the representatives of this nation - “the Pakistanis”. The given example can be considered as the possibility of an associative figurative deployment of the image, which was the basis of the original English phraseological unit from the point of view of the creative use of the language. The identified key components are “the nation of”, but the possibilities for occasional change are strictly limited by the semantic model “nation + a well-known characteristic feature of the representatives of the given nation”.

The phraseological unit which is the proverb “what is a workman without his tools” with the meaning “без топора не плотник; без косы и сена не накосишь” provided various examples of component/components substitution, while the examples of ellipsis were virtually identical for most informants. In the first case, one component of the phraseological unit was replaced by its synonym (for example, “tools” by “instruments”) or by a lexeme of one thematic group of names of people by profession (for instance, “workman” by “craftsman”):

What is a workman without his instruments.

What is a craftsman without his tools.

In most of the examples given, we observe the replacement of two components according to the semantic model “what is a + name of a person by profession + without + his/her + name of the main production tool in this profession”, while the meaning of the phraseological unit is completely preserved:

What is an artist without his brushes.

What is a seamstress without her needle.

What is a doctor without his stethoscope.
What is a fisherman without his rod.

By analogy, one of the informants also created an example:

What is life without its simple pleasure.

However, in this case, we believe that, since there has been a complete change of meaning, we deal with the use of the grammatical structure of the English sentence and its new content instead of using the component/components substitution as one of the types of occasional transformation of phraseological units.

As for the examples of ellipsis of this phraseological unit, the informants, as a rule, were unanimous in this case and gave the following option with the reduction of the component, that is, a possessive pronoun:

What is a workman without tools.

A solitary example below illustrates the possibilities of grammatical transformations of the English language to convey the reinterpreted meaning of this phraseological unit. Thus, we can assume that the key components of the presented phraseological unit are “what is without” while maintaining the above-mentioned semantic model and grammatical structure of the interrogative sentence:

Don’t you think that he is a workman without tools?

2.3. Phraseological saturation of context

The research aimed at creating phraseological saturation of context, since this type of occasional use of phraseological units includes both a simple way of using two or more phraseological units in their usual form, and various types of occasional transformations of phraseological units within the same context. The latter, more complex method, can serve as a visual proof of students’ knowledge of the mechanism of various types of transformations of phraseological units and the ability to use them in speech.

The examples obtained during the experiment indicate that 98% of the subjects successfully accomplished the assigned task. Situations close to reality were created, but in most of the examples, the number of phraseological units used (out of 10 suggested) varied from 5 to 8 units.
However, there were only a few isolated examples of a simple way of phraseological saturation of context. Thus, the usual (core) use of 6 phraseological units can be observed in the following example:

One of my new acquaintances once lived in London, among the nation of shopkeepers, for rather a long period. He was always drunk although he had very little money to buy some food. It was a rainy day and, as usual, he decided to get drunk. He entered a tavern and looked around. The butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker were inside. Many of them were as drunk as a fiddle’s bitch. He walked up to the barkeeper who was as fat as an alderman and said:
- Hey, pour me something to drink!
- Can you pay for it?
- Of course, but not now. You see, tomorrow I’ll get a lot of money and square up with you.
- You always say just the same. I don’t believe it anymore. Guys, chuck him out of here.

At that moment, he got a bang on the head and came to himself only when he was outside. From that time, he decided not to drink alcohol any more, and to be the architect of his own fortune. This story proves once again that adversity is a good schoolmaster.

A brief and vivid example of a consistent implementation of eight phraseological units with different types of transformations, such as component/components substitution, component/components addition to the beginning of the phraseological units “nation of shopkeepers”, cleft use of the phraseological unit “every man is the architect of his own fortune” with the introductory phrase “as they say”, inversion of the standard word order of the components, and the addition of the component “nothing” into the phraseological unit “what is a workman without his tools” demonstrate creative thinking and the informant’s ability to create an interesting and memorable phraseological context:

I always used to say that a workman is nothing without his tools. And what is a woman without her husband? That’s why I decided to use my brains and find a husband. The butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker – I didn’t care. Even if he were as fat as an alderman! My friends said that I wouldn’t find anyone in our nation of shopkeepers but every man, as they say, is the architect of his own fortune. Therefore, I finally found HIM. Unfortunately, he got drunk as a fiddler’s bitch every night. What can I say? Adversity is a good schoolmaster.

The same situation of searching for one’s betrothed is seen in the example below, where the use of four phraseological units in their usual
form and the components replacement “every man is the architect of his own fortune” and “the butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker” can be observed:

*My mother always told me: “*Every woman is the architect of her own fortune”. Therefore, when I was 35 years old I decided to find a husband and met John. He was from the nation of shopkeepers. I can’t say that he was a handsome man in shape as he was as fat as an alderman. However, he had many positive personality traits. One of such traits was that he was a head cook and bottle-washer.

So the day of our wedding came, the florist, the baker, the candle-stick maker took part in the ceremony’s organization. Everything was perfect, except John, who by the end of the day was as drunk as a fiddler’s bitch. I was too nervous and even cried in public. However, I remembered another mom’s proverb that *adversity is a good schoolmaster.*

One of the situations acted out by the informants was the situation connected with the job search where the phraseological units proposed for the experiment perfectly apply to. In addition to the usual use of two phraseological units, the informant applied the appropriate form of the component replacement “cook” by “employer”, the phonetically appropriate form of the component substitution “butcher” by “waiter”, resulting in harmony with the tripling of the diphthong [ei], and a synonymous component replacement “schoolmaster” by “teacher”. Moreover, the reduction of the component “an alderman” in the phraseological unit “<as> fat as an alderman” is used.

*When I just graduated from the university I wasn’t able to find a job in my profession. There were a lot of proposals, and every employer praised his own broth. When I started working I got acquainted with a lot of people: the waiter, the baker, the candle-stick maker. Soon I became a head cook and a bottle-washer. But I wasn’t happy at all as my schedule was very tight. Besides, all my bosses were alike: bull-headed and as fat as... You know. As a result I resigned from my work. Then I started drinking as a fiddler’s bitch almost every day till the moment I noticed a poster near my apartment in which I read “Every man is the architect of his own fortune”. And now I am working in a big company that is engaged in the business relations with the nation of shopkeepers. So adversity that I had was a good teacher for me.*

The scenario of “job search” with the usage of eight phraseological units is also presented in the following example. Here we can observe six phraseological units in the usual (base, core) form and two phraseological
Nick entered a big room full of the butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker. He knew that all these people had the same aim – to find a well-paid job, to save their families from hunger and breakdown. He was only sixteen years old but he had to leave school and look for any job to feed two little sisters because his mother couldn’t do it alone. Every day their father returned home as drunk as a fiddler and there was no help from him. That’s why one day Nick decided that careless father was a good schoolmaster and that every man was the architect of his own fortune. Therefore, he started to look for a job.

After a while he saw a person he needed. The man was wearing an expensive and high-quality suit. Nick came closer and said: “I’ve read your advertisement… that you need workers…” The man looked Nick up and down and his old shabby clothes caught the man’s eyes. Now Nick understood that getting a job would not be as easy as he had expected.

– How old are you, boy?
– Sixteen.
– And where are you from?
– His father is from the nation of shopkeepers, – resounded a voice behind Nick. When he turned round he saw a man as fat as an alderman.
– And what can you do? – asked the first man.
– Oh, everything! To wash the dishes and the floor, carry out orders and even cook.
– Wow! … You are a head cook and floor-washer! – said the second man ironically.
– Every cook praises his own broth, – maliciously responded Nick. He was ready to turn around and run away. Suddenly the first man said:
– Jimmy, stop! You are as stubborn as a goat! I’ll never recruit our nephew. Then he looked at Nick understandingly and continued:
– I agree to give you this job. Let’s talk about conditions.

Nicked breathed freely. His sisters were saved. Everything was OK. “Well, it was easy enough!”

3. Conclusions

The conducted linguistic experiment confirmed the greatest effectiveness of two types of occasional transformations of phraseological units, namely, component/components substitution and component/components deletion in search for the key component/components. It has also been proven that the semantic model of the phraseological unit that allows us to recreate the initial meaningful image of the phraseological unit in the mind of the
recipient, as well as its grammatical structure plays a great role in the implementation of these two types of transformations. Furthermore, it was established that the elicitation of the key component/components of phraseological units is possible not for all of them, even if they are multicomponent. The experiment on creating phraseological saturation of context by non-native speakers displayed that the most popular types of occasional transformations of phraseological units were extension of the component structure (adding a component to the beginning/end of the phraseological units, inclusion) and component/components replacement. Non-native speakers also applied cleft use, component/components deletion, inversion of components, phraseological reiteration. Informants did not use the most complex types of semantic and structural-semantic transformations, such as phraseological pun and extended metaphor, requiring informants to use complex cognitive operations, during the experiment. This outcome may indicate a significant complexity of the creation of such phraseological units for non-native speakers.

References


1. Introduction

Phraseological units have been under study for more than a century. Within this period of time significant efforts were made to border, identify and classify phraseological layers of world languages. A great contribution to improvement of methodological apparatus of phraseology research was made by A.V. Kunin, who proposed the method of phraseological identification (Kunin 1970). His work was continued by researchers, especially representatives of Kazan Linguistic School (Arsenteva 2006; 2009; Abdullina 2007; Davletbaeva 2012).

Further research of phraseology was focused on the study of phraseological units in written and oral speech. It was A.V. Kunin who introduced the concepts of “core use” and “instantial use” of phraseological units (Kunin 1970).

The problem of stylistic differentiation of phraseological units is still under study by scholars. Modern linguists provide us with two approaches to the origin of the stylistic component of meaning. The first group of researchers considers stylistic meaning as a part of usage:

1 Kazan Federal University, Russia, igor.goor@gmail.com
2 Lingva-Pro, USA, juliarenat251@gmail.com
3 Kazan Federal University, Russia, director.ifmk@gmail.com
“It is advisable to approach from information and communication positions, that is, to take into account its ability to be a strong point of the stylistic corpus serving verbal communication (means - method - task (effect)” (Vinokur 1972).

The second group of scholars believes that in the language system, vocabulary, phraseology, grammatical forms have a certain stylistic connotation, and they are able to:

“Evoke an impression outside the context and bring a certain mood into the text” (Petrishcheva 1984).

In our study, we adhere to the second point of view, since, having a certain connotative charge, stylistically marked phraseological units are able to convey emotional colouring without context. There are two main stylistic means: functional-stylistic and emotional-expressive. In case of bookish phraseological units, we witness the fusion of vernaculars into the bookish layer of language. Thus, the boundaries of bookish vocabulary have become unstable, which complicates their lexicographic study and typology.

However, as A. Naciscione emphasizes, stylistic changes in phraseological units are a recognized fact of the language, which is confirmed by a sufficient number of examples of the occasional use of phraseological units in the works of great English writers, including G. Chaucer and W. Shakespeare. The author of the monograph highlights the main features of the instantial use of phraseological units. According to A. Naciscione, the instantial use of phraseological units is:

“a unique stylistic implementation of these units in discourse; semantically and stylistically related to the main, conventional form, - creating important changes in form and meaning, determined by the context and intention of the writer or speaker, - inextricably linked with the main form, - which is an unlimited source of the author’s creativity” (Naciscione 2010).

One of the most promising areas of research in modern phraseology is the experimental study of instantial use of phraseological units. The first experiment aimed at studying the use of phraseological units in context (foreign researchers use the term discourse) was conducted by the American researchers R.G. Gibbs and N.P. Nayak at the University of California (Gibbs 1989). Six experiments were conducted, the participants were native speakers - students. Students were provided with ready-made sentences containing transformations. The experiment was aimed at
proving the “hypothesis of the decomposition of idioms”. With the use of this hypothesis, it seems possible to determine the degree of susceptibility of idioms with a reconsidered meaning to syntactic transformations, which largely depends on their internal semantics and component composition. In the course of the experiment, it was proved that idioms with a transparent inner form easily undergo various types of transformations in comparison with idioms with a hidden inner form, and the type of imagery of redefined phrases does not affect their transformational abilities.

Further experimental studies carried out by the same group of researchers at the same university showed a significant role of both the direct meaning of idioms prototype and the processes of metaphorical rethinking (Gibbs 1990), as well as the preservation of the general perception and understanding of idioms by native speakers, regardless of the transformations used (Gibbs 1989).

Kazan Linguistic School made a great input in the experimental study of phraseological units. Thus, research of D.N. Davletbaeva describes an experimental study of the perception mechanism of occasional phraseological units by native speakers of English and Turkish (Davletbaeva 2006). The purpose of the experiment was to identify figurative associations in the course of perception of the original and transformed phraseological units by speakers of two languages, to identify the cognitive processing of the figurative basis of instantial phraseological units and to explicate the process of cultural interpretation.

A.R. Abdullina conducted the experiment to determine the key components of a number of phraseological units of the English and Russian languages during their contextual transformations (Abdullina 2007). The study proved that the most effective types of transformations for determining the key components of a phraseological unit are component substitution and ellipsis, and the results of the experiment made it possible to prove the universality of the procedure for determining these components in Russian and English.

The article by E.F. Arsenteva and Yu.S. Arsenteva, describes the results of an experiment aimed at identifying the key components in eight English proverbs, using the following transformations: phraseological allusion, ellipsis and component substitution (Arsenteva 2013). It has been proven that a key component or several components convey the image of a proverb, since these components contribute to the appearance of the proverb image in the minds of listeners and readers. One of the conclusions of the experiment was that non-native speakers have sufficient cognitive ability to identify the key component or components of a
proverb in another language with a relatively high level of knowledge of a foreign language.

Conducting experiments aimed at studying bookish phraseological units in the context, as well as determining the style of these units, will set the boundaries of bookish phraseology and reveal the ability of these units to transform.

2. Main Part

2.1. Description of the Experiment

The first experiment was aimed at estimating the level of recognition of bookish phraseological units among units belonging to colloquial and neutral styles. As a material for the experiment, we selected 10 bookish phraseological units, 10 phraseological units of neutral style and 10 units of colloquial style from English and Russian languages. The participants in the experiment were given the task of determining the stylistic reference of each of the units and briefly justifying their choice.

The experiment was attended by 40 students of Kazan Federal University with their majors in “English Philology” with Upper-Intermediate level of English. After analyzing the results of the experiment, we came to the following conclusions. Bookish phraseological units with a vivid imagery, such as:

“Pandora’s box”

“Bend the bow of the Ulysses”

“Listen for the wings of Azrael”


did not cause difficulties for students to determine their stylistic reference. However, the units with the image that cannot be derived from the meaning of their components, or units based on an unknown image, were perceived ambiguously by the students.

Thus, 20% of respondents attributed the author's bookish expression “Caviare to the general” – “too subtle a dish for a rough taste” to the neutral or colloquial style, motivating their choice by the fact that this expression has no strict attribution to the bookish style. This is partly due to the fact that together with the translation of the phraseological unit, Russian analogue of colloquial tone was provided:

“Метать бисер перед свиньями” - lit. “throwing pearls in front of pigs”
The students, who determined the stylistic affiliation correctly, motivated their choice by the fact that one of the components has an outdated spelling - the word "caviare". The opposite process was observed, when the neutral phraseological unit was reckoned with the bookish style. The neutral expression is “the dead of night” 55% of students ranked this expression as a bookish phraseology. Students in the comments noted that the metaphorical image of death is associated with a sublime vocabulary in their perception, the “dead of” component gives the expression a high pathos characteristic of the bookish style. A similar situation was observed with the colloquial expression “pigeon's milk” – “something non-existent”, 20% ranked this phrase as a bookish style phrase, justifying their position by the fact that this expression cannot be used in any context, i.e., it has strict stylistic restrictions. The reason for this error can be considered a false association with the international expression “dove of peace”.

In general, only 30% of students accurately identified the stylistic affiliation of all the presented bookish phraseological units in English, 45% of them made 1-2 mistakes, and only 15% made more than 2 mistakes. This result indicates that the bookish layer of phraseology is recognizable due to its component composition and vivid imagery based on Biblical images, myths or works of art. Also, the recognition of international images, in particular, Biblical ones and those based on the myths, depends on the degree of respondents' education.

Summing up the experiment, we found out that in the overwhelming majority of cases bookish phraseological units were determined quite accurately. The most recognizable were the units attributed to the international layer of phraseology, while the recognition of the original units is not so unambiguous. It should be noted that the translation of these units into their native language, in our case Russian, with the help of analogues that have a stylistic orientation different from the original, can contribute to their misperception among non-native speakers.

2.2. Peculiarities of Phraseological Unit Translation in the Experiment

The origins of phraseological units’ translation studies are connected with the name of American linguist Y. Nida, who proposed to combine all existing theories of translation into four basic approaches: philological, linguistic, communicative and sociosemantic (Nida 1991).

The main problem under consideration is the correspondence of the translation to the original text. The definition of the concepts of equivalence
and translation adequacy is still one of the main tasks of this area of studies.

Y. Nida states that the linguistic approach is a natural consequence of the fact that translation deals with two languages. The main focus of the research is not on formal, but on the meaningful relationship between the original utterance and its translation (Nida 1991).

The communicative approach uses terminology borrowed from communication theory: source, message, receptor, feedback, encoding and decoding processes. The selection of this approach is fair, since modern linguistics is quite closely related to the theory of communication, and a large number of studies are carried out taking into account the communicative aspect.

The latter, sociosemiotic approach, at the center of the study puts social aspects and the interaction of various sign systems (codes) in real acts of verbal communication. This approach largely intersects with the research area of macrolinguistics, which studies the relationship between linguistic and extralinguistic in the process of verbal communication, analysis of the impact of the characteristics of a person's language, culture and thinking on this process.

Theoretical translation studies the translation process as a whole, mental operations (strategies and techniques) of the translator. Since such processes are difficult to observe and describe, scholars develop indirect methods of studying the translation process. It is worth noting that translation theory and comparative linguistics have a long history of relationship. The ways of transferring phraseological units into different languages were considered in comparative studies of phraseological layers (Vinogradov 1977; Arsenteva 2006).

One of the first classifications of methods for translating phraseological units was proposed by A.V. Kunin (Kunin 1970). To achieve the adequacy of phraseological units’ translation, the scientist identifies the following methods of translating English phraseological units into Russian:

1. Equivalent - an adequate phraseological unit available in the Russian language, which coincides in meaning and figurative basis;
2. Analogue - a Russian phraseological unit that is adequate in meaning to English, but differs in a figurative basis;
3. Descriptive translation - transferring the meaning of phraseological units through a free combination or sentence;
4. Calque, or word-by-word translation;
5. Antonymic translation - transfer of negative meaning with the help of an affirmative construction and vice versa;

The experiment involved two groups of students experimental and control, 15 students in each. The language proficiency of those students is Upper-intermediate. Both groups were given five sentences to translate. The process of translation was traced by the software “Translog - II”. The control group had the translation of sentences without phraseological units:

1. Even though we have worked really hard and put all the efforts into it, the failure of business company wasn’t a big surprise to us. We expected something like this because our competitors have demonstrated a really good job.

2. Ben was invited to his boss but he was nervous waiting before his boss would talk to him. The conversation was supposed to be a serious one.

3. Clarie had a serious argument with her friend. The moment they have met each other Clarie told her everything she wanted to. Nevertheless, they managed to deal with this disagreement.

4. Tom has everything you can dream about because he worked very hard to get it all.

5. The detectives agreed that this case was not as easy as it seemed from the first sight. Only after several conversations with witnesses they have got some ideas on what had happened. Very soon afterwards the suspected was caught.

For the students of the experimental group, sentences contained phraseological units:

1. Even though we have worked really hard and put all the efforts into it, the failure of business company did not come as a bolt from the blue to us. We expected something like this because our competitors have demonstrated a really good job.

2. Ben was invited to his boss but he was forced to cool his heels before his boss would talk to him. The conversation was supposed to be a serious one.
3. Clarie had a serious argument with her friend. The moment they have met each other Clarie gave her a piece of her mind. Nevertheless, they managed to deal with this disagreement.

4. Tom has everything you can dream about, but he wasn’t born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He worked very hard to get it all.

5. The detectives agreed that this case was not as easy as it seemed from the first sight. Only after several conversations with witnesses they have thrown light on it. Very soon afterwards the suspected was caught.

The average time spent on translation of the first sentences in the experimental group was 149.1 second, and on average 36.5 seconds were spent on choosing the translation strategy and correcting errors. It took the control group only 86.2 seconds to translate the same sentences without the phraseological unit.

11 out of 15 participants had difficulties in translating the phraseological unit “to come as a bolt from the blue”. So, they spent from 40 to 61 seconds in order to perform correctly the translation of this phraseological unit. 4 participants in the experimental group showed better results, it took them from 27 to 34 seconds to translate the aforementioned phraseological unit.

Moreover, one participant in the experimental group used the most accurate version of the translation - a complete analogue of the English phraseological unit “как гром среди ясного неба”. This version of the translation was found only in 3 cases out of 15, which indicates that less common phraseological units are difficult to translate without prior knowledge of the bookish layer of phraseology. This is proved by the following translation option.

In this case, the English phraseological unit was translated with the use of the lexeme “неожиданность” – lit. “surprise”. Despite the fact that this version of the translation contributes to the loss of expressiveness of the entire sentence, it turned out to be the most frequently used translation variant – 9 cases out of 15. This translation was chosen due to the context of the sentence.

Another interesting translation option was demonstrated in the following example:

Несмотря на то, что мы упорно трудились и приложили все усилия, провал нашей бизнес кампании не застал нас врасплох (catch by surprise). Мы были готовы к такому, так как наши соперники продемонстрировали отличную работу.
The student reasonably and creatively approached the translation of this phraseological unit, by preserving the main idea of the text. This translation by partial analogue took only 54 seconds to think over.

The second task prepared for the experimental group had a phraseological unit belonging to colloquial style “to cool one’s heels” - lit. “to languish in anticipation”.

Ben was invited to his boss but he was forced to cool his heels before his boss would talk to him. The conversation was supposed to be a serious one.

In average, it took students 105 seconds to translate this task, 45.5 seconds of which were spent on thinking and translating the phraseological unit (the control group translated the same sentence in an average of 49.5 seconds, without encountering any difficulties).

It is worth noting that this task caused a lot of controversy among the participants of the experiment, as evidenced by completely different translations. The phraseological unit “to cool one’s heels” turned out to be difficult for students to perceive, the context did not facilitate the work on the task. We registered one case of the correct phraseological method of translation. One participant offered the following translation option:

Ben пригласили к боссу, но босс заставил его томиться в ожидании (made him languish), пока он поговорит с ним. Разговор предстоял серьезный.

It is noteworthy that the translation of this task took the student 99 seconds, and it took 57 seconds to select the appropriate variant for the phraseological unit. It should be noted that the rest of participants in the experiment mainly used a free combination of words or phraseological units that were not suitable in the meaning of this sentence.

The participant of the experiment chooses the phraseological unit “засверкал пятками” – lit. “flashed his heels” that is not suitable for translation. Such a translation decision may be due to the fact that the student focused his attention on the lexeme “heels” and picked up an idiom in Russian with the same component. The need to provide an answer, as well as the participant’s reluctance to procrastinate, probably also played a role in this translation strategy.

Ben был приглашен боссом, но он нервничал (was nervous), ожидая пока тот поговорит с ним.
In this case, we observe lexical translation “нервничал” – “was nervous”, since the student was able to determine correctly the meaning of the phraseological unit but could not find the best option for translation. However, the participant demonstrated a good translation time - only 93 seconds for the entire task, and 38 seconds were spent on translating the idiom.

Thus, we can conclude that sometimes interpreters are guided not only by their own knowledge, but also by secondary factors affecting the translation, for example, lack of time, slow reaction, etc.

The next task was:

Clarie had a serious argument with her friend. The moment they have met each other Clarie gave her a piece of her mind. Nevertheless, they managed to deal with this disagreement.

The meaning of the phraseological unit “to give a piece of one’s mind” lit. is “to express dissatisfaction”.

The experimental group translated this task in an average of 97.1 seconds, while it took the control group 74.5 seconds to do it. The participants worked on the translation of the phraseological unit relatively less than in the previous examples – only 37.4 seconds. But the presence of the phraseological unit obviously slowed down the translation process, and the translation time increased by 37.1 seconds. The results show that the most frequently used way of translation was a free word combination.

One participant of the experiment spent 86 seconds translating the entire task, and 31 seconds translating the phraseological unit. This indicator is one of the best in terms of time, although it is still inferior to the results of the control group, where the best result is 67 seconds. Analyzing this translation, we came to the conclusion that the use of a free combination of words improves translation speed.

Клер серьёзно поссорилась с другом. Когда они встретились, Клер прямо сказала ей все, что думает (said what she thinks). Тем не менее скоро они смогли поладить снова.

This example demonstrates that the student used a partial analogue for the translation of the phraseological unit, and for this reason the translation time was prolonged up to 107 seconds in total, and 48 seconds for the translation of this phraseological unit. Despite the speed, the student demonstrated a good knowledge of Russian phraseological units and a high-quality of translation.

The next task:
Tom has everything you can dream about, but he wasn’t born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He worked very hard to get it all.

This bookish phraseological unit is recognizable and has quite a clear image. The average time spent on the translation of this example is 74.1, the translation of phraseological unit took 24.2 seconds. In this case we still observe a slower reaction to the translation of the task – on average, the translation of this sentence in the control group took only 34.1 seconds.

Most of the participants from the experimental group used the full equivalent of the phraseological unit “to be born with a silver spoon in one’s mouth”. This translation option was encountered in 12 cases out of 15.

The rest of the participants demonstrated the following variants of translation:

У Тома есть все, о чем можно мечтать, но ему не поднесли это все на блюдечке (lit. was not served on a saucer). Он много и упорно работал, чтобы получить это все.

This example demonstrates that the participant used a full phraseological analogue for the translation of the phraseological unit. Thus, this segment of the text differs from all other proposed options. It is also worth noting that such a translation solution did not take a long time and the participant completed it in 79 seconds.

У Тома есть все, о чем можно мечтать, но он не родился в сорочке (lit. was not born in a shirt). Он усердно работал, чтобы иметь это все.

This translation variant uses a partial analogue of the phraseological unit. It took 71 seconds to complete this translation, 30 of which were taken by the phraseological unit translation.

The detectives agreed that this case was not as easy as it seemed from the first sight. Only after several conversations with witnesses they have thrown light on it. Very soon afterwards the suspected was caught”.

The main part of this task is an English idiom “to throw light on something”.

The abovementioned example forced the participants in the experiment to pay more attention to translation than all previous examples – on average, it took students 98.6 seconds to translate it. Moreover, the control
group of our experiment also experienced difficulties and spent significantly
more time translating the same type of sentence – 58.8 seconds.

This example demonstrated completely different translation options. Overall, the most frequent method of translation is a free word-
combination, as well we came across full phraseological equivalents, alongside with phraseological units that did not fit in meaning.

Следователи согласились, что это дело было не таким простым, как
показалось сначала. Только слушая несколько бесед со свидетелями
им удалось пролить свет на дело (lit. to throw a light on the case).
Вскоре после этого преступника поймали.

This translation example demonstrates how the student used the full
phraseological equivalent for translation. This translation solution
preserved the imagery and expressiveness of the original sentence. It also
took her 106 seconds to make this translation.

Детективы решили, что этот случай был не таким простым, как
сначала показалось. Только после разговоров со свидетелями, они
смогли дойти до истины (lit. reach the truth). Скоро преступника
поймали.

This example demonstrates an attempt to preserve the phraseological
unit during translation. However, the choice of the phraseological unit was
incorrect, as a result the meaning of the author's sentence is lost. As for the
time spent on translation, 103 seconds were used by the student, 48 of
which were allocated for the translation of the phraseological unit.

Детективы согласились, что этот случай был не таким легким, как
казалось. После нескольких встреч со свидетелями они начали
понимать в чем дело (lit. understand what's the matter). После этого
преступника поймали.

Translation of this sentence took 93 seconds; translation of
phraseological unit took 49 seconds. This phraseological unit was
translated with the help of a free word combination. Thus, the meaning of
the original phraseological unit is distorted. However, unlike the previous
element, the main idea of the entire sentence is preserved here.

The following picture demonstrates the statistics provided by the
Translog - II:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Average time spent for translation in Control group (sec)</th>
<th>Average time spent for translation in Experimental group (sec)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example 1</td>
<td>86,2</td>
<td>149,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example 2</td>
<td>49,5</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example 3</td>
<td>37,1</td>
<td>74,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example 4</td>
<td>34,1</td>
<td>74,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example 5</td>
<td>58,8</td>
<td>98,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The picture demonstrates the average time spent on translating sentences with phraseological units has increased by 47.12 seconds. Therefore, we come to the conclusion that the presence of phraseological units in the text complicates the general perception of the text and slows down the translation process.

3. Conclusions

The bookish layer of phraseology is a wide area for research. Despite partial coincidence with the layer of international phraseological units, the fund of bookish phraseology is more extensive, since it includes original expressions.

Bookish phraseological units have a number of specific features, both in structural-grammatical and semantic aspects. So, a significant part of bookish phraseological units has outdated words in its component composition. The main criteria of distinguishing functional and stylistic reference of bookish phraseological units are: quantitative, component, semantic and etymological. The most significant factor is an etymological one, since in most cases it is the etymology of phraseological units that allows us to make a conclusion about the stylistic reference of this or that expression.

Drawing the border between neutral and bookish style in some cases seems to be rather arbitrary, as a result of which an experiment was carried out aimed at identifying the peculiarities of English and Russian bookish phraseological units’ perception and determining the degree of their recognition both by native speakers and by students with a high level of knowledge of the compared languages. The results of the experiment have confirmed that the determination of some bookish phraseological units that do not have typical component and semantic components remains a rather difficult task. At the same time, the experiment showed that most of the bookish phraseological units have sufficient recognition in both of compared languages.
The second experiment has demonstrated that phraseological units affect the speed of translation by a significant amount of time. Moreover, some participants failed to find appropriate analogue or equivalent or to keep the initial stylistic colouring of the sentences. The majority of participants used translation of non-equivalent phraseological units into another language using descriptive translation, lexical translation and combined translation.

An urgent problem of modern phraseology is the problem of identifying phraseological counterparts, both in related and different system languages, as well as ways of translating non-equivalent units from one language to another with minimal losses. In this issue, there is an intersection of phraseology with the translation theory. At the moment, there is no unified classification of translation of phraseological units, since some classifications of translation methods are based on data obtained in the course of a comparative analysis of linguistic facts at the system level, while other classifications are based on the theory and practice of translation, confirming that the use of classifications created on language level, greatly facilitates the work of translators.

References


